

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

B. 223

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FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THE DEATH OF
DIOCLETIAN.

WITH 191 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 3 MAPS, AND 2 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.



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CHAPTER XCV.

THE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I.—THE BARBARIANS.

THE Roman Empire, extended around the Mediterranean Sea, included the most favoured regions of the temperate zone: fertile lands covered with rich harvests, and beautiful cities in which civilization had made its first development. Notwithstanding the periodical catastrophes which occurred at Rome or in the camps, this region was a vast oasis in the midst of the triple barbarism of the North, the South, and the East. For the moment, that of the South was not formidable. The desert horsemen were not yet dreaming of abandoning the date-trees which fed them, and the wells of which they had drunk since Abraham's time, for the sake of disseminating a new religion through the world. Only the Blemyes, from time to time, disturbed Upper Egypt, and on the Arabian coast the Saracens began to attract notice—witness the foolish history related by the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, of lions and serpents placed along their frontier to deter them from crossing it.¹

In the East, myriads of men were in agitation, formidable in frontier wars, but organized into great states, and by that very circumstance rendered incapable of those vast migrations which tread cities and empires under foot.

In the Northern regions, on the contrary, that great movement westward still continued which had begun in the remotest ages with the first migration of the Aryans. Not being able to encroach upon the settled inhabitants of Iran, the nomad hordes bore northward, passed through the *Völkerthor*, "the gate of the nations,"²

¹ Amm. Marcellinus says (xxii. 15): . . . *Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos nunc adpellamus.*

² This is the name German authors give to the plain which extends from the last slopes of the Ural to the Caspian Sea.

and crowded the great Sarmatian and Germanic plain in a floating mass, scantily attached to the soil, a pastoral rather than an agricultural people, whom an old writer accuses of recognizing no right but that of the stronger,¹ a habit which has existed in all times, and still exists. They were most dangerous neighbours. Notwithstanding the ungrateful and severe climate, these prolific races increased rapidly,² and in the midst of their poverty for ever turned their eyes towards the countries of the sun and of gold. Thrice already, within historic times, they had attempted to enter them.

In the time of Marius, while 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones ravaged Gaul, Spain, and Northern Italy, others had rushed into the Hellenic peninsula, and had devastated it from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.³ When, after the victory of Vercellæ, Marius had set upon his buckler the head of a barbarian with protruding tongue, it was to signify that Rome had stifled the barbaric world in her mighty arms.

But forty years had scarcely passed when this formidable enemy reappeared with threatening aspect: 120,000 warriors, the vanguard of the great nation of the Suevi, and 430,000 Usipetes, or Tencteri, undertook the conquest of Gaul. They were already in possession of its eastern portions, when Cæsar drove the former back into the German forests and exterminated the latter between the Rhine and the Meuse. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius an immense coalition again threw even Rome itself into anxiety; the Marcomanni came as far as Aquileia, and the emperor was obliged to establish himself for several years on the banks of the Danube with the principal forces of the Empire.

Thus in three centuries there had been three formidable attacks, the Cimbri, Ariovistus, and the Marcomanni, and in the interval between the great invasions, a multitude of combats and endless alarms along the Rhine and the Danube. This Northern barbaric world was like a sea of men, whose waves, now violent, now feeble, beat incessantly against the Roman entrenchments.

¹ *Jus in viribus habet* (Pomp. Mela).

² *Scanzia insula officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum* (Jordanes, 4).

³ See vol. ii. pp. 483 *et seq.*

With Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan, Rome had taken the offensive; she had crossed the Rhine and the Danube, and on the one hand penetrated as far as the Elbe, where she could not maintain herself, and on the other as far as the summit of the Carpathians, across conquered Dacia. But the Germans could not be grasped; in peace as well as in war they eluded the influence of Rome. From the contact with an ancient civilization they had gained nothing. Ammianus Marcellinus still shows them in the time of Julian possessing no cities in their own country, and afraid to dwell in those which they had conquered. "A walled inclosure seemed to them a net in which men were caught, and the city itself a tomb where people were buried alive."¹ One of their great tribes, the Suevi or Suabians, were called "the wanderers."² From deserters and prisoners of war and Roman traders, who bought from them the amber of the Baltic or the long fair hair of their women, they asked only instruction in making their attacks more formidable. Rome found, therefore, in this vague and fugitive world no firm points where she could establish herself, and whence she could command the entire country. Accordingly, after some vain attempts, she refused to enter it again. Her policy in regard to the Germans was to cover with fortresses the Roman bank of the two great rivers, and to throw across this defensive line—which



Young Dacian. (England, *Marm. Oxon.*, pl. 20. and Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 834 B, No. 2,161 J.)

¹ xvi. 2.

² *Die Schwaben* (Zeller, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, i. p. 81). Tacitus represents the Germans as saying to the Ubii: *Postulamus a vobis, muros coloniarum, munimenta servitii detrahatis* (*Hist.*, iv. 64).

extended uninterruptedly from the North Sea to the Euxine—pensions to the chiefs to win these warriors to peace, many intrigues in order to dividé them, and a little gold to attract their bravest soldiers into the service of the Empire.

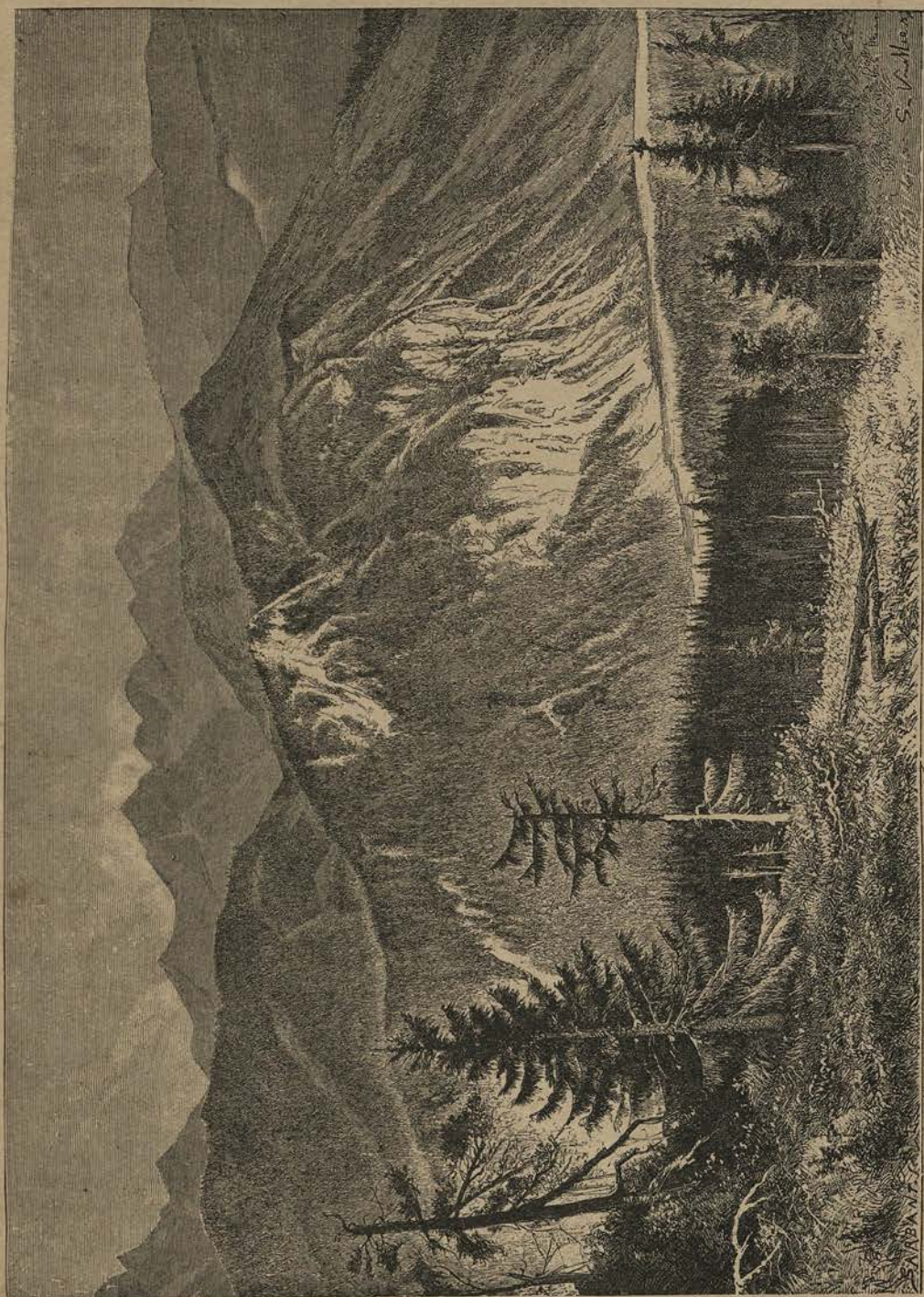
These precautions sufficed until the time when the migration of the Goths overthrew Eastern Germany, and brought as far as the Euxine the men who were to be the chief agents in the destruction of the old world.

The Goths, or Good Doers, *Gut thind*, who have left in the Seandinavian peninsula their name and the traces of their abode, had quitted it at an unknown but recent period, under the leadership of two powerful families, the Amalidæ (Amalungs) and Baltidæ (Baltungs), who were regarded as the descendants of Odin and of Freya, the Venus of Northern mythology.¹ These priest-kings, who, however, had no sacerdotal character, judges of the people in time of peace and military leaders in war, subjugated the Vandals, who were probably also of the same race with themselves,² and a crowd of other tribes whom they incorporated with themselves or drove aside either to the south or west. The number of the Goths increasing³ with their victories, which drew to them all adventurers eager for war and booty, the great mass of the nation was broken up into two bodies: one, the Goths of the East, or Ostrogoths, under Filimer, crossed the Vistula, and subjugated the Sarmatians as far as the Euxine; the other, the Goths of the West, or Visigoths, settled around the mouths of the Danube. A few tribes set in motion by this great migration went still further westward: the Gepidæ, in Transylvania, where the Romans now held only the fortified posts; the Vandals and Heruli, in the Moravian Carpathians; the Longobardi, in the upper valley of the Oder; the Burgundians, in those of the Saale and the Main. It is possible even that some of these tribes reached the southern frontier soon enough to have a share in the war with the Marcomanni in the time of Marcus Aurelius, or that the pressure exercised by them

¹ "The Baltidæ," says Jordanes (20), "are, after the Amalidæ, the noblest of the Goths." The Vandals had kings of the family of the Astingæ (*id.*, 22). Ptolemy, in the time of the Antonines, mentions the Goths as already established on the lower Vistula. The place vacated on the shores of the Baltic was occupied by the Slavs.

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, iv. 14; Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, i. 1.

³ . . . *Magna populi numerositate crescente* (Jordanes, 4).



View of the Carpathian Mountains.

upon the Germans of the South obliged the latter to seek their fortunes across the Danube.

By the success of this migration the Goths found themselves brought into the neighbourhood of the civilized world. The rich pasture lands of the Black Sea fed their flocks; the fertile Ukraine gave them more corn than they needed; the Sarmatian rivers gave their vessels access to the Euxine, girt by a belt of cities full of wealth easily to be captured; and while the Carpathians, which the legions had never yet ventured to cross, concealed their movements, they had, in the open space between the extremity of these mountains and the sea, a gateway always giving them access into the Roman provinces. They remained, therefore, for the present tranquilly and fearlessly multiplying in these fruitful regions, whence their warriors could almost see the enormous booty in store for their courage.

Their national songs, which Jordanes had the opportunity of reading, but unfortunately did not preserve for us, related their exploits. They boasted of having subjected the Marcomanni to tribute and the chiefs of the Quadi to obedience. Their rule, therefore, or their influence, extended from Bohemia to the Tauric Chersonesus, and their name was dreaded far and near. Their first appearance in Roman history is in the year 215. To attach to themselves the powerful nation whose hand was so heavy upon their ancient enemies,¹ the Romans subsidized the Goths, which did not prevent the Roman provinces from soon having cause to dread these dangerous neighbours. While the body of the nation remained stationary, some adventurous band was always detaching itself, and at its own risk and peril crossing the Danube or the Euxine. Did the Goths essay, like the Germans in Trajan's time, to enter into relations with the great Oriental Empire? We do not know; but when Sapor invaded Roman Asia they fell upon Mœsia. As early as 238, in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, they destroyed an important city in this province, and in 242 Gordian encountered them here, where they had probably remained since their earlier inroad. He killed a large number of them, and

¹ Jordanes, 16: *Sub cujus sæpe dextra Wandalus jacuit, stetit sub pretio Marcomannus.*

by the aid of money¹ was able to rid himself of the rest. It was but for a short time, however; they had learned the road to these rich countries, and later would return in force sufficient to destroy a Roman army and kill an emperor. There have been counted in a space of thirty years (238-269) ten important invasions made by them; and they rested for a century (269-375) only after they had driven the Roman garrison out of Dacia Trajana.

While in the north-east masses of men accustomed to fight under great military chiefs pressed heavily upon the frontier, about the Upper Danube, the Rhine, and the Lower Mein the barbarians were organizing in a manner to give their warlike enterprises that unity of action which they had hitherto always lacked.

During the first and second centuries of the Christian era history knew only the Germany of Tacitus; in the third that Germany seems suddenly to have disappeared and another appears. Under the double pressure of Rome and the Gothic invasion the Germans had felt the need of a kind of union among their tribes, not however going so far as to establish actual confederations, and the Roman frontiers being at the time so poorly defended their warriors formed the habit of making inroads into these provinces so long closed against them.

At the epoch where we now are nothing is said of the social and religious organization which Tacitus has described, nor of the tribes known to him: we hear of the Alemanni, the Franks, and the Saxons; later of the Thuringians and Bavarians, designations at once ethnographic and geographic.²

"The Alemanni," says Agathias, "are a mixture of different peoples, which is signified by their name, 'the men of all races.'" But the Suevi were the dominant people, and gave their name to the Decumatan lands, henceforward called Suabia. The Franks were also "the men armed with the *framea*," or, more probably, "the free men,"³ that is to say, those soldiers of the Catti, Sicambri, Bructeri, Chamavi, Tenetheri, and Ansivarii, who, without

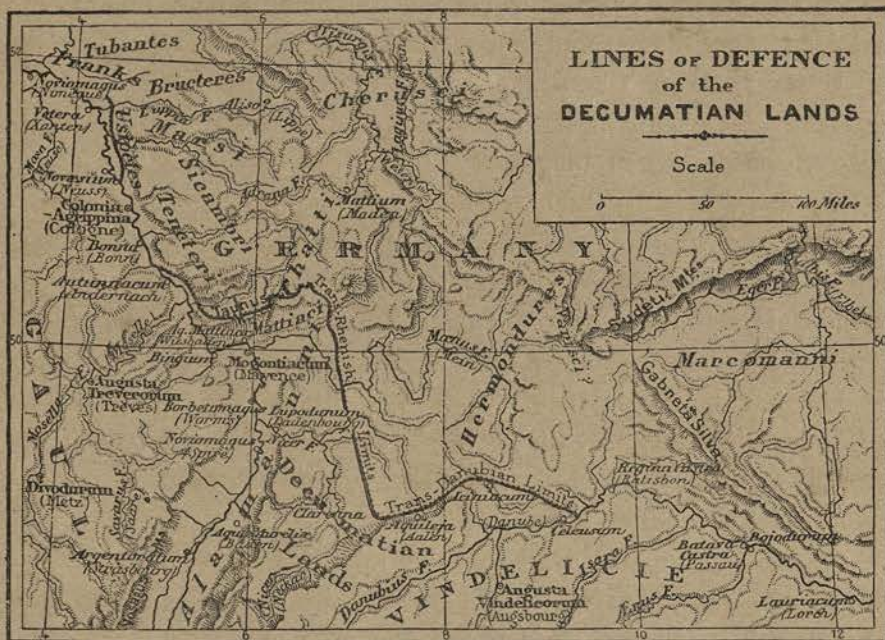
¹ See p. 279, and in the *Excerpta de Legationibus* of P. Patricius, Bonn edit., i. 24, the account of the deputation of the Carpæ at Menophyllis.

² In respect to this new grouping of the populations of Western Germany, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. i. pp. 160-229, edit. of 1881.

³ Wachter (*Glossarium Germanicum*) derives the name from *Warg*, *Wrang*, exiled, banished, which does not correspond with the idea of an agglomeration of tribes.

the general participation of their respective tribes, engaged in war under individual leaders. The Saxons, "the men of the long knife," *seax*, recruited their bands among the Chauci, the Frisii, the Angrivarii, and what remained of the Cherusci.

These peoples had no permanent directing council or sole chief, although all the tribes belonging to one group, or most of them, sometimes united to wage a national war. More frequently,



Lines of Defence of the Agri Decumates.

however, there were formed among them free associations of warrior bands acting together for a definite purpose, which purpose having been accomplished or else defeated they separated again to reform after a time for some new enterprise.¹ These undisciplined bands were the more to be feared because Rome could have with them neither real peace nor open war.

As the aborigines of America had their hunting grounds, so each of these nations had its territory to pillage: the Alemanni,

¹ G. Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, i. 342) says: *Ueberhaupt weiss die altere Zeit nichts von eigentlichen Bundesverfassungen*. This is true; but Sozomenus (iii. 6) shows the Saxons acting, in a given case, as a nation, and Julian was obliged to encounter at Strasburg seven confederated Aleman kings (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12). But seven other chiefs of the same nation held aloof.

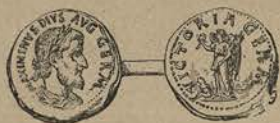
the region extending from the Main to the Alps and from the Bohemian Forest to the Vosges, that is to say, the Roman provinces of Upper Germany and Rætia; the Franks, those of Lower Germany and Belgica; the Saxons, the ocean and the British Islands.

Under Caracalla the Alemanni had invaded the Decumatian lands; here they experienced a defeat which drove them back and kept them quiet for twenty years. Milestones have been found in this region bearing the names of Elagabalus and Alexander, a proof that these emperors were obeyed there.¹



Coin of Maximin,
with the Legend:
Victoria Germanica.²

Under Alexander the Franks had with impunity scoured the whole of Gaul, killing and pillaging at random, until, satiated with booty, they returned to their encampments, indifferent to the fate of their companions whom they had left along the road. Maximin pursued these plunderers into the depths of their forests, and believed that he had smitten the barbaric world with a terrible blow: upon his coins we read the legend, *Victoria Germanica*, so often imprinted on Roman money, and never true save for the moment, since the blow was always struck into empty space.



Victoria Germanica. (Gold
Coin of Maximin.)³

In the middle of the third century, then, Germany organized itself for an attack: in the East, an innumerable nation, ruled by a family who were regarded as favourites of the gods, and who were able to prepare enterprises carefully and judiciously and to conduct them with unanimity; in the West, warlike confederations, and a multitude of chiefs incessantly flinging their hands at the Empire, like *bandilleros* flinging their lighted darts at the bull in the arena. Assailed by the contemptible enemies which he cannot reach, the powerful creature

¹ These milestones being discovered near Baden-Baden, while others, bearing the name of Septimius Severus, were found much further to the East, Wintersheim (ii. 214) concludes from this fact that the Roman frontier had already been pushed back in the West, under Elagabalus or Alexander.

² Maximin standing, crowned by a Victory. (Medium bronze.)

³ MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. Laurelled bust of the emperor. On the reverse, a standing Victory; at her feet, a German, his hands tied behind his back.

is confused, distracted, he roars and falls to the ground. Such was to be the fall of the Roman colossus; but, for it, the *fiesta del toro* was destined to last two centuries.

The danger increased then all along the northern frontier. All the outposts of the Empire which covered the main position are lost or will shortly be so. The Decumatian lands are invaded; Dacia has now but a few scattered garrisons which will be recalled by Aurelian; a city which up to this time had been as the eye and hand of the emperors over the Scythian world, Olbia,¹ which the Antonines had protected, where statues had been erected in honour of Caracalla,² disappears at this time from history, and the other allies of Hadrian at the mouths of the great Sarmatian rivers³ are at the mercy of the Goths. Soon Rome will fall back behind the Danube, and even the great river



Scythian Coin, struck at Olbia.
(*Dictionn. numism.*, vol. i. p. 667,
No. 1,268.)



Head Band of Gold, with a Medallion of Commodus, found in a Tomb in the Crimea.

will no longer protect her, for already Istriopolis, an important city of Dobroudja, had been destroyed, and the Alani had penetrated into the valley of the Ebro. Whilst the barbaric world made this step forward, Roman commerce had fallen back; her traders no longer dared venture into the lands of the North. Imperial coins found in these regions are, with a single exception, pieces of date anterior to the third century.⁴

¹ Capit., *Ant.*, 9.

² Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 2,091. After the year 250 A.D. we hear no more of Olbia.

³ See vol. v. pp. 29 *et seq.*

⁴ Note by M. de Witte to the *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, vol. iii. p. 116. He ought, however,

Upon the Black Sea, the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus being no longer able to do police duty for Rome, piracy reappeared. In Asia, the national and religious revolution effected by the Sassanids was the cause of another danger, and these threatening events occurred when the Roman power of resistance had diminished. The dark days were beginning.

II.—THE ROMAN ARMY.

It has been a common remark that the nations included within the Roman Empire were old, that life had exhausted them, that their blood was impoverished, and that, following the common law of living things, they had reached the stage preceding death. These reasons, furnished by the convenient doctrine of historic fatality, could never have appeared very satisfactory. And at the present day it is absolutely required that a more serious examination be made of the morbid symptoms which errors produced and wisdom could have prevented.

And first the danger appeared so great on the frontiers only by reason of the interior situation.

It is no longer Hannibal at the gates of Rome; the enemy approaching are only hordes whom the ancient Roman legions would have driven before them like whipped curs. In the first century A.D. the Marcomanni, in the second the Dacians, were as formidable as the Goths were now, and the Germans of the West had been as desirous as were the Frankish and Alemannic bands to invade Gaul or Italy. They were at that time arrested because the Roman world had, together with an army worthy of itself, a great man for leader who ruled twenty years. After him another for an equal length of time watched over the Empire and the frontiers. Under the mighty hand of Trajan and of Hadrian the barbaric world bent the knee. Severus still held it motionless and timid. But children had succeeded men, fools were in the place of the wise, reigns of a few days' length had followed those lasting for years; a policy of chance had taken the place of a

to say also that the base coin of copper and silver at this time issued by the imperial mints could be forcibly circulated only in the Empire. Nations outside would naturally refuse this token money, which had no intrinsic value. (See pp. 382 *et seq.*)

policy of foresight. Civil and military institutions are all relaxed; the government no longer governs, and the state totters upon its yielding and crumbling base.

Montesquieu represents the Roman Empire at this time as a kind of irregular republic, somewhat like the former regency of Algiers, where the soldiery at will appointed and deposed the dey. The remark is just: the Roman people never employing its electoral right, and the senate, which was powerless to make its own right respected, having suffered the prætorians to seize its prerogative, the armies of the frontiers deprived the prætorians of the lucrative opportunity. This appears to us shameful, and is so; but it was inevitable that the military power, the one thing surviving amid the ruins of the institutions of Augustus, should dominate all. Contemporaries were not astonished at it. For centuries the army had been the Roman people under arms: this remote souvenir was not yet completely effaced; and even made up as it was, the army which defended the

Empire was the only body which appeared worthy of representing it. S. Jerome thought thus, for he compares the election of the bishop by the priests to the election of the emperor by the soldiers.

But unfortunately the new army is very different from the old. It was the legionary infantry that conquered the world; but



Legionary Foot-Soldier, Standard Bearer.¹

¹ Found at Mayence, and preserved in the museum of that city. On the left shoulder Luccius bears a helmet with lowered visor; a long and a short sword hang at his belt; he holds in the left hand his buckler, and in the other the standard adorned with the civic crown. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, etc., pl. iii. fig. 1, and p. 19.

the infantry is now disdained, and, a certain sign of the decline in military matters, the cavalry gains in importance daily. It always equals the infantry in number, while in the time of Polybius, by a contrary excess, the legion had but one horseman to ten foot-soldiers.¹ Commanders of cavalry are appointed: Balista under Macrinus, Aureolus under Gallienus, Aurelianus under Claudius II., Saturninus under Probus; and this title gave them great authority.



Carts for Transportation of Baggage. (Pompeii.)

The barbarians served chiefly in the cavalry, and its increase shows how the foreign element was increasing in the Roman army.

At the same time the camp became embarrassed with an enormous baggage train. A letter of the emperor Valerian shows what the commander of a legion required annually for his military household: 715 bushels of corn, 1,430 of barley, 13 cwt. of pork, 400 gallons of old wine, 300 skins for tents, etc.,² without counting

¹ Marquardt, *Handb.*, vol. ii. p. 584; and *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, vol. xxv. p. 473. According to Gen. Rogniat, the proportion ought to be one in six; according to Napoleon, one in four. This varies according to the character of the country where the war is carried on. At the present time it is one in four in the French army. (Budget of 1877.)

² "We have intrusted to Claudius the tribuneship of the Fifth Martian legion. (It will be noticed that at this epoch the commanders of the legions were only tribunes.) You will give to him out of our private treasure for his annual salary, 3,000 *modii* of corn (the *modius* being very nearly a peck), 6,000 of barley, 2,000 pounds of pork; 3,500 *sextarii* of old wine (the *sextarius* being about a pint and a half), 150 *sextarii* of good oil, 600 of oil of second quality; 200 *modii* of salt, 150 pounds of wax; a sufficient quantity of hay, straw, vinegar, fruits, and vegetables; 300 skins to make tents, six she-mules, three horses, ten camels, and nine mules annually; 50 pounds of silver ware and 150 gold philips (*aurei*) of our coinage annually, and at the new year 160 *trientes* (a third of the *aureus*). You will give him eleven pounds weight of pots and jars for wine, eleven more of kitchen utensils; two red military tunics annually, two silk-trimmed cloaks, two clasps of gilded silver, one of gold with copper point, a shoulder-belt of gilded silver, a ring with two stones weighing an ounce, a bracelet

the pay, which was 25,000 sesterces in good gold pieces,¹ at a time when commerce had only debased coin at its command.² We see further what burdensome and sometimes singular dues they received from the state, and can estimate also what crushing burdens were imposed on the treasury by all these favours, often moreover doubled and trebled. In giving to Probus the office of governor of the East, the emperor Tacitus gave him advantages five times greater than the usual salary of this office. The *impedimenta* of the officers corresponded doubtless with that of the commander, and it is easy to see how the Roman army, retarded by such enormous baggage, could scarcely, in spite of their numerous cavalry, ever come up with an active enemy who arrived suddenly and disappeared as rapidly as he came.

In this army there were also a crowd of useless persons who on days of battle were not present in the ranks. It was regarded as a useful reform when Alexander Severus reduced the number

seven ounces in weight, a collar weighing a pound, a gilded helmet, two bucklers embossed with gold, a cuirass (which he will return), two Herculean lances, two short javelins, two reaping-hooks, four others for hay, a cook (whom he will return), two of the most beautiful female captives, a white garment of half silk and another of Girba purple, an under-tunic of Mauretanian purple, a secretary (whom he will return), an architect (whom he will return), two pairs of Cyprus cushions for the table, two under-tunics without borders, two sheets, a toga (which he will return), a laticlave (which he will return), two footmen who will be always at his orders, a carpenter, a prætorian steward, a water-carrier, a fisherman, a pastry-cook; 1,000 pounds of wood daily, if there is enough, otherwise, as much as the locality can furnish; four shovelfuls of charcoal daily, a bath-man and the wood necessary for hot baths, failing which, he will be obliged to employ the public thermæ. You will furnish at your discretion other things of minor importance; but you will not fix their value, so that if any article be lacking, he could not require its equivalent in money." (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 14.) See also what Valerian ordered the urban præfect to furnish daily to Aurelian during his stay in Rome, without counting what was supplied him by the præfects of the treasury (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 9). The French regulations furnish a general division for campaign rations: 2,465 kilos of pork, 175 of rice, 48·75 of salt, 61·25 of sugar, 46·75 of coffee, 730 litres of wine. This allowance is for a year, and is furnished ³⁶⁰ daily during the campaign, and in time of peace is suspended. But the Romans made no distinction between the peace and war footing, so that the enormous allowances enumerated above were permanent, while the French treasury supports this expense only in time of war. Under Louis XV. the French army had enormous baggage. The ordinance of March 9th, 1756, gave each lieutenant-general thirty horses, and each colonel fourteen, and they actually had twice that number, with an immense train of carriages and waggons. Consequently these armies could not move. (See the *Comte de Gisors*, by Camille Rousset, pp. 182 *et seq.*)

¹ . . . *cujus militiæ salarium, in auro suscipe.*

² *Hist. de la monn. rom.*, iii. 143, No. 1. Probus received for his pay as tribune only 100 aurei, and the remainder in denarii and sesterces; but the total amounted to 28,000 sesterces instead of 25,000, the 3,000 sesterces additional representing the difference in exchange, or what the tribune lost in receiving part of his pay in denarii and sesterces instead of receiving the whole in gold.

of orderlies to ten for a legate, six for a *dux*, and four for a tribune; a proof that the number had before that time been much larger, and it doubtless again became so in later reigns, these restrictive ordinances being unpopular.

Two things further prevented a general from requiring of his



Roman Horseman, found at Bonn and preserved in the Museum of that City. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 1.)

troops those rapid marches which had so many times enabled the Roman army to surprise an enemy and strike decisive blows. The soldiers had been accustomed to carry with them provisions for seventeen days, unless they were in an enemy's country. Alexander relieved his legionaries of this burden, and established their camps in such a way that they could receive their provisions without fatigue. On a march mules and camels brought them along, but in this case another train was required to supply with

food the beasts of burden and their drivers; the line of *impedimenta* lengthened, and the army became the more unwieldy. Moreover the order of battle was changed, and the soldier's arms modified. As, from day to day, the number of barbarians in the army increased, it had become necessary to abandon the earlier organization of the legion, which required a mathematical precision in the movements and much skill in camp labours. The quality of the soldier deteriorating, less was asked from individual experience, more from collective power. Caracalla had organized a Macedonian phalanx, and Alexander Severus increased it to 30,000 men, a dense mass difficult to break into but also difficult to move, and in which much strength was wasted. Lastly, these soldiers, so desirous to live comfortably and needing so many things, found the weapons of the republican legionaries too heavy for them; they required a smaller buckler, less fatiguing to their enfeebled arms, and the cuirass and helmet of iron became a burden from which they begged the emperor Gratian to relieve them.¹



Dromedary carrying Baggage.
(Bas-relief from the
Column of the Emperor Theodosius
at Constantinople.)

It had been now many years that the semestrial tribunes had only nominally fulfilled the law requiring of them a period of service in the legions, and Roman senators would not tolerate camp life. One of them had obtained from Commodus exemption in the matter of military service;² Caracalla had excused them all from it, and Gallienus forbade it to them;³ and an old author is surprised at finding a young man of good family in the service.⁴ The decurions of the provincial cities demanded the same privilege as the Roman senators, and the law, sanctioning this inward desertion, closed the army against them for ever.⁵ It was the

¹ Vegetius, i. 20. The phalanx did not last.

² Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, v. 311; L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 18. Alexander Severus had thought of making a similar rule. (Lamprid., *Alex.*, 45.)

³ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 33: . . . ne imperium ad optimos nobilium transferetur, senatum militia vetuit, etiam adire exercitum.

⁴ *Id.*, *Valer.*, 32: . . . quam genere satis claro.

⁵ Constitution of Diocletian, in the *Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2, and maintained by his successors.

whole aristocracy, great and small, which, in an empire founded by arms and incapable of maintaining itself without their aid, now

refused to bear them. The effects of this change began to appear about the middle of the third century. The sons of the Roman and provincial senators, who had filled the great military and civil offices, were replaced in the army by men of low degree. Some of these soldiers of fortune became able generals, but for the most part they were men of ignoble ambition, who, destitute of the patriotic pride of the early consuls, were willing to tear the Empire into thirty pieces that they might each for an instant be adorned with a rag of the purple.

The separation of the civil and military orders, whose union had made the fortune of the Republic and formed the great administrations of the early Empire,¹ is still further marked by the creation of



Legionary with Helmet, armed with the *Pilum*.

a new grade, that of *dux*, or commanding general who at the same time had no territorial command and consequently no civil interests to protect. This measure, which is seen dawning under Septimius

Cf. *Code Theod.*, viii. 4, 28, anno 423, and *Code Just.*, x. 31, 55: *Si quis decurio ausus fuerit ullam affectare militiam . . . ad conditionem propriam retrahatur*, anno 436.

¹ See vol. v. p. 516.

² Found at Wiesbaden and preserved in the museum of that city. (Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*)

Severus, and has become established in a general manner in 237 A.D.,¹ was useful, for it has endured to this day, but with the condition that the high military posts should be assigned only to men worthy of holding them, and that it should never open the way to high civil office. But Macrinus gave to two freedmen the government of Dacia and Pannonia, and to a former spy, who knew not how to read,² the consulship and the office of urban prefect. A few years later a man of mixed race, Getan and Alanian, a mere soldier, was invested with the purple of Cæsar, and he by whom this emperor was overthrown was the son of a blacksmith.³

This army now forbidden to the noblesse of the Empire, and shortly after to the townspeople of the cities, was recruited from the dregs of the provincial population. In the time of Septimius Severus a jurisconsult could say: "Formerly the military service was obligatory, and he was punished with death who did not respond to the call. Now we have abandoned this severity because our cohorts are recruited from volunteers."⁴ But these volunteers were poor wretches who had neither household gods nor homes, like those vagabonds with whom in the last century the recruiting officers of the French army filled their regiments, where they became the soldiers of Rossbach. There was indeed a certain conscription: every city was required to furnish a definite number of men and horses, and this was a tax upon property. Both were obtained as cheaply as possible and delivered over to the recruiting officer, *productio tironum et equorum*. These words are in the text of the law under the head of municipal obligations: "The furnishing of recruits, horses, and other animals or necessary things . . . is a personal obligation."⁵

Besides these soldiers taken by contract were others who were a danger to the state, those obtained from among the nations whom the army had to combat. Aurelius Victor, speaking of the legions of that time, writes: "The soldiers! the barbarians, I had

¹ See the senatus-consultum sent at this date to the proconsuls and military chiefs. (Capit., *Maximin*, 15.)

² Dion, lxxviii. 14.

³ Pupienus was, it is said, the son of a blacksmith or a wheelwright.

⁴ Arrius Menander, *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, § 10.

⁵ Arcadius Charisius, in the *Digest*, i. 4, 18, § 13.

almost said.”¹ When Aurelian was intrusted with the defence of Thrace the emperor gave him a legion, but also 300 Ituraean archers, 600 Armenians, 150 Arabs, 200 Saracens, 400 men of Mesopotamia, 800 *cataphraceuti* (men clad in mail), who were to come from the same region; and, to show him that he could count on capable subordinates, Valerian wrote him: “You will have with you Hartomund, Haldegast, Hildemund, and Cariovix”²—all Germans. At the battle of Emesa in 272, one of the best generals in the army, Pompeianus,³ was a Frank. Many others conceal for us their barbaric origin under Roman names. These Lembazii, Riparenses, Castriani, and Dacisci, who at that time formed the entire garrison of Rome, were not all men of the old provinces.⁴ The Roman army then was composed, in the different ages of its history, in the following manner: first of citizens, then of Italians, then of provincials, and now the barbarians are entering: it is a descending scale.

Following the able policy of the republican senate, the emperors, in concluding a treaty with the Goths or Vandals, stipulated that the children of the barbarians should be given up as hostages, and received them, both boys and girls, into the noblest houses in Rome. The boys were educated like the Roman youth, and the girls were married to Roman officers in the intention that these wives would keep their husbands informed as to what might be going on over the frontier. Hunila was of royal blood among the Goths: Aurelian gave her a handsome dowry and married her to Bonosus, one of his generals, a valiant boon-companion who in a battle of cups defeated all the barbarians, and plucked from them their most secret thoughts.⁵

Certainly there is no heroism in military virtues like these; but there was not a hero left under the standards. In the time

¹ Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 37: *militibus ac pæne barbaris*. After defeating an army of Goths, Claudius II. selected a number to fill the gaps in his cohorts. Ten years later Probus incorporated 16,000 Germans into his legions; all the emperors did the same. Under Theodosius barbarians were more numerous than Romans in the Roman army.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 11.

³ S. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 272.

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38.

⁵ *Id.*, *Bon.*, 14.

of Alexander Severus the Syrian legions declined to fight with the Persians,¹ and at Trebizond and Chalcedon, Romans more numerous than the Goths fled before them.² Finally, from amidst these men who had nothing of the Roman soldier except his costume, went out deserters carrying over to the enemy the secret of Roman tactics, drilling the enemy's troops, forging his weapons, building his ships, even constructing for him engines of war wherewith to attack fortresses: at the siege of Philippopolis the Goths made use of all the engineering contrivances known to the Romans at that time.³ Implacable as traitors are to those whom they have betrayed, they incited invasions, showed the way, and took the lead in the pillage, while their comrades remaining under the standards made and unmade emperors. It was a deserter who in 259 guided the Goths in the



Ituræan Archer. (Museum of Mayence.)⁴

¹ Dion, lxxx. 4. He adds that they were disposed to go over to the enemy.

² See, in Zosimus, the invasion of Asia Minor by the Goths and Scythians in the time of Valerian. Jordanes says (16) of deserting legionaries in the time of Decius and of Philip: . . . *milites ad regis Gothorum auxilium confugerunt*. A multitude of the soldiers of Niger had gone over to the Parthians, and to leave the door open for their return, Severus had modified the terrible penalties denounced by law against deserters.

³ See Dexippos, No. 2, in vol. iii. p. 678, of the *Fragmenta historicum Græcorum* (Didot).

⁴ The inscription is as follows: Monimus Jerombali f(ilius) mil(es) coh(ortis) I Ituræor(um)

conquest of Bithynia, and it was perhaps a military sedition which gave up to the Persians the emperor Valerian.¹

Thus we see the standard is lowered among the soldiers no less than among the officers, and consequently in the government. And whose is the fault? It is the fault of the citizens of every rank, who will no longer endure the military service, and of the rulers, who know not how to compel them to it. We have already remarked that the appearance of superior military organization always marks the advent of a new dominion, for the reason that the army in many respects sums up in itself the civilization of a people. The empires of Persia and of Athens, of Thebes and of Macedon, of Carthage and of Rome, succeed each other in the order of the improvements made in military institutions. At the period with which we are now occupied these improvements had reached a limit which could be passed only by the aid of sciences unknown to antiquity, and centuries must elapse before these new sciences were discovered. The Greek genius, which was above all speculative, had been able to create mathematics and astronomy, and to begin mechanics and natural history; but mathematics alone have not—as chemistry and physics have—the virtue of leading man to the control of the material world; and these poets, these philosophers, these artists, who made the civilization of the old world, were not able to arm it with forces conquered from nature. To protect itself against the barbarians the Roman world had, therefore, means scarcely, if at all, superior to those which the barbarians employed. When, by the pensions which the imperial government paid, and by the commerce carried on in time of peace with the Roman traders, by the booty snatched from the provinces, and by the lessons which deserters taught them, the Goths, the Alemanni, and the Franks had procured themselves the necessary resources for the development of their metallurgic industries, they were able to give themselves an armament almost as formidable as that of the Romans. They had the superiority of courage, and their religion, like that which Mahomet gave the barbarians of the south, inspired them with a martial ardour which the

ann(orum) L. stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Monument found at Mayence. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht*, etc., pl. v. No. 3, and p. 22.

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

Romans no longer possessed. On the field of battle the legions had the advantage of discipline, of a better arrangement, and of traditions of military art which were not wholly lost, and this superiority would have secured to the Empire constant victories if these legions, which for two centuries had been the strength of the state and the confidence of the Cæsars, had not now become the scourge of the former and the terror of the latter. Accordingly, the chief care of the emperors now to come will be to put an end to barrack-revolts by a violent reaction against the military order. To save themselves from the continual attacks of the soldiery they will effect an administrative revolution which will appear to give themselves more security, but will not increase the safety of the Empire; they will divide the army in order to have less reason to fear it, and will make it up of barbarians in the hope that these foreigners will be more docile.

III.—THE ADMINISTRATION.

In the age preceding the nobles were the governing class; a regular and slow ascending movement replaced the Roman aristocracy, which was becoming exhausted, by the provincial aristocracy, full of life and experience. The latter obtained seats in the senate in proportion as its members, by their services in the cities and the legions, earned the attention of the emperor; and the sons of these senators, before succeeding their fathers in the curiæ, were prepared for their high office by an excellent administrative education. Revolutions had now changed this favourable condition of affairs.

Enfeebled by the institution of Hadrian's *consilium principis*, and despoiled of its last powers by the imperial council of Alexander Severus, the senate had nothing to do in the state, and it mattered little that Caracalla called Egyptians and Palmyrenes¹ to sit with the Conscript Fathers; Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Philip, Syrians and Arabs,² and Maximin, Thracians. The

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. araméennes de Palmyre*, Nos. 20-22.

² Zosimus (i. 19) says that Philip placed all his relatives in the higher offices, and Philip was the son of a Bedouin, a robber-chief.

higher grades in the army, the really important offices in the state, even the imperial dignity, being the prey of soldiers of fortune, the senate and the public offices were filled with the friends of the emperor, who selected them from the places where he himself had lived. From this it resulted that the recruiting for the administration, as well as for the army, was made in the lower strata of the population, that the worth of the men who influenced public affairs grew less, and that life everywhere fell to a lower standard.

The movement of concentration which had taken place in Rome in the last centuries of the Republic went on in the provincial cities. The number of the *humiliores* increased, that of the *honestiores* diminished; and in the provincial cities are seen only two classes, the decurions and the common people. The latter lost their last rights, even the comitia falling into desuetude; almost everywhere the curia, instead of the popular assembly, was the electoral body,¹ and the office of decurion had become hereditary.²

But the elections had become very onerous to the persons elected. In Pliny's time to enter a municipal senate did not involve great expense; at the period of which we are now speaking a perpetual flamen paid 82,000 sesterces for his office;³ of this he expended 30,000 for a statue to adorn the city; 20,000 for the required gift to the decurions, and he promised the people scenic games with a distribution of money. Prodigalities like these were possible to the rich only; consequently it was inevitable that many should seek in their office the means of indemnifying themselves, as the republican proconsuls used to repair, in a year of provincial government, their fortunes, ruined by an election in the forum. The Empire had put an end to this colossal plundering, and it was obliged also to arrest those of the municipal Verreses.⁴ But to

¹ Africa still held electoral comitia in the time of Constantine (*Code Theod.*, xii. 15, 1), and Julian, in the *Misopogon*, speaks in the case of Antioch of senators elected by the people, and later of municipal judges who had no regard for justice.

² See in the *Digest*, l. 2, the section *de Filiis decurionum*.

³ This amount was paid into the municipal treasury *ob honorem flaminii*. (L. Renier, *Bull. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, June, 1878; inscription of the time of Elagabalus, recently found at Philippeville.) This, it is true, is an individual instance.

⁴ The extortions of the municipal magistrates were of very early date. Cicero (*ad Att.*, vi. 2) avers that he had made those of Cilicia restore their ill-gotten gains, and he adds that these restitutions permitted the province to pay the arrears of its taxes.

succeed in this, the home government was obliged to administer the provinces, which formerly it had been contented with ruling.

The time of the family of the Severi is that of the most renowned juriconsults of Rome. Now these incomparable logicians sought, on their part, to establish everywhere and in all cases the idea of the rights of the state, which had been so extensive in the early republics. Obeying their influence as well as the social necessity of which we have just spoken, the emperors encroached upon the municipal liberties, and this ever-increasing interference of their agents, which the citizens themselves solicited or abetted, undermined and destroyed the vitality of the municipal rule. The finances of the cities are now in the hands of trustees acting in the emperor's name; the irenarchs appointed to maintain public order have need of the consent of his representative before entering upon their office;¹ new taxes are levied, public works are executed only with the authorization of the governor, who annuls the decisions of the local senate when they are displeasing to him, *ambitiosa decreta*, and the elections are made under his good pleasure when he does not appoint the candidates directly himself.² The duumvirs act as judges only in cases where a small sum was involved, and the practice of appeal to the Roman magistrate will have soon reduced the duumviral jurisdiction to nothing more than the equivalent of a French *justice de paix*.³ Accordingly, municipal honours losing their dignity, the obligations they imposed were the more onerous, and, through different reasons, pagans and Christians alike avoided them. But the government, already seeking to render the decurions responsible for the payment of the land-tax,⁴ watches carefully to see that the provincial senates be

¹ *cum a præsede ex inquisitione eligatur* (*Digest*, l. 8, 9, § 7). See (*ibid.*, xxii. l. 33) the rights which Ulpian attributes to the *præses* in respect to the financial administration of the city: *qui disciplinæ publicæ et corrigendis moribus præficitur* (*ibid.*, l. 4, 18, § 7). . . . *a decurionibus, judicio præsidum nominentur* (*Code*, x. 75). An ordinance of Alexander Severus gives the governor of a province the right to annul the election of a decurion elected by persons unfriendly to the latter for the purpose of imposing ruinous expenses upon him.

² *Digest*, xlix. 4, §§ 3-4. "When he writes to the senate," says Ulpian, "*ut Gaium Setum creent magistratum*," it is advice rather than command." But the advice was as potent as an order.

³ The *justice de paix* decides debts not above 100 francs.

⁴ Many sentences in the *Digest* show this tendency from the beginning of the third century, but it is not until the time of Constantine that we find this system completely established. For

kept full; any one seeking to escape this duty by taking refuge in another city is brought back,¹ or, if he cannot be found, his property is confiscated for the use of the curia. A criminal sentence did not free a man from the duty of service as decurion; on the expiration of his term of punishment he returned into the municipal senate.² When it was a question of receipts the treasury had no scruples.

The government, which with one hand chained the refractory to municipal honours, with the other threw back privileged persons into the taxable, because it was essential for the government to secure its share in the net revenue of the cities.³ In the time of their prosperity these cities had multiplied exemptions from the *munera*, of which the burden, in the general impoverishment, had fallen heavily upon the other inhabitants. The number of physicians, rhetoricians, and grammarians enjoying immunity was reduced,⁴ and the citizen who had been exempted from the *munera* because of his poverty was subjected to them, notwithstanding his age, if fortune came to him late in life.⁵ We see that the government tried its best to find functionaries for the cities and resources to fill their treasuries: a care beneath which was concealed the very legitimate desire of protecting public order and securing the payment of the state-tax. But this self-interested solicitude obliged the government to intervene daily more and more in municipal affairs. The two centuries of the early Empire

the municipal organization of the first century, see in vol. v. of this work the whole of § 2 of chap. lxxxiii., and for the first attempt upon the liberties of cities, p. 130 of this volume.

¹ Ulpian, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 1. From this time the great anxiety of the government is to retain the rich in the cities. At an earlier period the number of decurions in the Italian cities was 100 in each; we have seen (vol. iv. p. 810; vol. v. pp. 331 *et seq.*) that this number was often exceeded. The register of Thamagag contained seventy-two names, and mentions only the priests and magistrates. Julian (*Misopogon*) compelled all the rich men of Antioch to enter the curia in that city, and many of his predecessors had probably done the same. The minimum of fortune required for a seat in the curia had been placed very low: it was twenty-five *jugera* (*Code Theod.*, xii. 1, 35, anno 342), or 300 *solidi (aurei)*, about £180 (*Nov. Valent.*, III. iii. § 4). This *Novella*, which is of the year 439, gives this as a very early figure, *secundum vetera statuta*.

² *Digest*, l. 2, 2, 1 and 3; *Code*, x. 37, 1: *Curiales jubemus ne civitates fugiant . . . fundum . . . scientes fisco esse sociandum*.

³ *Code*, iv. 61, 15. In this constitution Theodosius and Valentinian II. affirm that they confirm an ancient custom, *prisca institutio*. It is proper to say that the levy for the state being made only after all the public services of the city had been provided for, the two-thirds reserved for the state from the net revenue must have been a very small sum.

⁴ See vol. v. p. 403.

⁵ *Digest*, l. 5, 5, *proem*.

showed a just balance between the power of the state and the liberty of the cities; while this equilibrium lasted the public prosperity was maintained; when the former was overthrown the latter perished, and the moment of that disaster was near at hand.

The government was not alone guilty of this administrative invasion, which would have been so salutary had it been kept within limits.

To understand the slow evolution which led the central power to keep so strict a watch over the cities in which narrow and jealous oligarchies had been formed, we must remember how, in the Middle Ages, most of the communes came to an end. Their inhabitants also allowed to grow up in their midst a *bourgeois* aristocracy, like that of the Roman decurions, which perpetuated itself in the public offices and made the financial resources of the city serve its private ends. Abuses necessitated the intervention of the suzerain, and, as a consequence, the suppression of the municipal charters. At the two epochs the same result followed from similar causes. It is not that history repeats itself, but there are analogies which make ancient facts intelligible in the light reflected from more recent events. In seeing how our fathers lost their communal franchises we understand better how those of the Romans were lost.¹ In all times communities have cared little for their rights when their interests were in danger: *neque populus ademptum jus questus est.* To put a stop to certain disorders arising from liberty, an administrative guardianship became necessary, which, exaggerating its legitimate rôle,

¹ This is seen in the Middle Ages in countless instances; M. Giry gives yet another instance in the history of the commune of St. Omer. "The provosts had appropriated to themselves a part of the city; they were accused of maladministration and were suspected of falsehood and cheating in their accounts; the public were exasperated at seeing the municipal offices perpetuated in an aristocracy composed of a few families, whose members, being successively provosts, passed the city's accounts from hand to hand, and treated the municipal finances as their private inheritance. In 1305 the commune accused the town magistrates 'after the accustomed way' before the high and noble Madame d'Artoys de Bourgogne as their '*droit juge*.'" This is still done in our time. "In Ireland, before 1848, there were seventy-one municipal corporations completely independent. The officers of these corporations went so far as to appoint one another. The corporations of Trim and Kells alienated their territory to allow two or three of the members of the corporation to buy it at a nominal price. That of Naas adjudged to one of its members for a price of twelve pounds sterling lands which were worth a hundred; that of Drogheda decided that the poor-fund should be exclusively expended for the profit of the members of the corporation and their families." (Arth. Desjardins, *de l'Aliénation des biens de l'État et des communes*, p. 34.)

soon made dead bodies of these cities which were once so full of life.

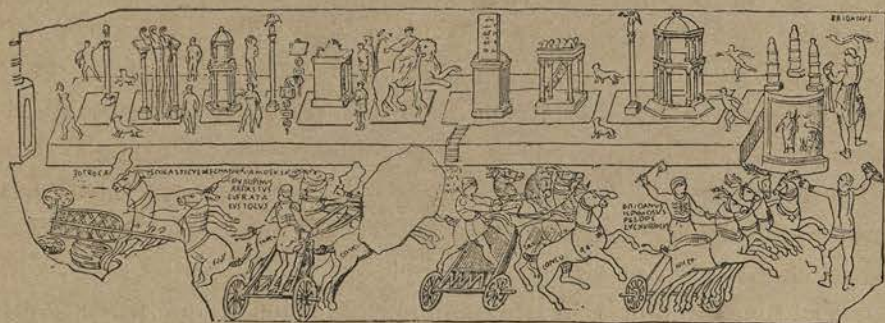
Another evil arose: in undertaking to think and act for all, the imperial government singularly retarded the transaction of public business. A government may be remote, an administration must be close at hand, and when a government administers an immense empire it necessarily administers it ill. All moves slowly, decisions are founded upon documents, far from the parties interested, and out of sight of things themselves which sometimes speak so eloquently. A document of the year 114 shows that at the gates of Rome, under Trajan, it already took ten months for the officer in charge of the Cærites to give a signature.¹ When this force, which suppressed all others by stifling the local life, falls into incapable hands, it must be, in its turn, as it were, suppressed by revolutions. The emperor having become the universal administrative officer, what, under the Thirty Tyrants, will become of the administration? To put this question is to show what deadly languor must in those unhappy times invade the social body!

The emperors worthy the name had taken pride in executing great public works—roads, bridges, monuments of all kinds; when they did not do this themselves, they incited the people of the provinces to these undertakings, and gave them the assistance of cohorts and legions in the work. But the armies now fight with each other, and the rulers who assume this purple, which is dabbled with blood every six months, can think of nothing beyond the anxiety of protecting their own lives. The Empire, abandoned to itself, suspends all work of repair or construction, and bridges become ruinous and military roads fall into dilapidation. With this the troops which had maintained general security in the interior are withdrawn to swell the numbers of those who are concerned with politics and not with the public safety. And so free-booters re-appear, the roads become insecure, traffic is interrupted, and destitution extends.

Although an edict of Caracalla had subjected the provinces to new taxes, the country ravaged by the barbarians or possessed by

¹ See the letter of the decurions of Cære, *ap. Egger, Historiens d'Auguste*, p. 390, and Orelli, No. 3,787.

usurpers sent to Rome but insufficient supplies of money; and yet the need increased daily. The wasting of the public revenues by rulers of a day, the lavish gifts bestowed upon those soldiers of fortune who had no personal means, but must be expensively maintained in order to secure a continuance of their doubtful fidelity; lastly, a scarcity of money produced by the continual exportation of the precious metals into countries where the Empire bought much while selling nothing: all these causes of poverty compelled recourse to the most disastrous measures of bankrupt governments. Formerly the high offices of the state were held by rich senators who met a portion of their expenses from their



Games of the Circus. (From a Mosaic of Barcelona.)

own private means, but now the emperor must find the money for everything. When Aurelian, the son of a poor freedman, is made consul, Valerian writes to the prefect of the treasury: "On account of his poverty you will give him, for the games of the circus which he must furnish for the people, 300 pieces of gold, 3,000 of silver, ten tunics of silk, fifty of Egyptian linen, four Cyprus table cloths, ten African carpets, ten Mauretanian coverlets, 100 swine, 100 sheep; you will cause a public banquet to be served to the knights and senators, and you will furnish for the sacrifice two great and two small victims."

Later we shall read of largesses made by Gallienus to Claudius; others obtained from the emperor lands which did not belong to him. All who assumed the purple in these days perished by a violent death; after the defeat, their partisans were despoiled; and as each province had its usurper, each was exposed to numberless confiscations. The conqueror not being able to pay his

friends with gold, paid them with confiscated property. Claudius Gothicus had received some. After his accession a woman came to claim the possessions of which she had been deprived by Gallienus for the profit of his lieutenant.



Claudius Gothicus,
Laurelled. (Gold
Coin.)

"You have wronged me," she said; but the emperor answered: "No; as a subject I had no concern with the execution of the laws; now, as the ruler, it is my duty to attend to it, and I give you back your lands." To put a stop to this shameful method of

obtaining wealth, Claudius forbade any one to solicit another's property, to denounce as guilty the innocent for the sake of obtaining their possessions. This edict was added to the many others in the archives which like it were well-meant, and, like it also, without durable effect.

IV.—DECLINE IN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND THE ARTS; DEPOPULATION OF THE EMPIRE.

The recruiting of the labouring classes went on, like that of the administration and of the army, under conditions which constantly grew more and more unfavourable. We may represent the Roman Empire as formed of a series of concentric zones extended around the Mediterranean Sea. Those nearest to this sea, having been for the longest time centres of civilization, were the most enlightened and the wealthiest; in proportion as we advance inland in every direction we approach the barbaric world. Rome at first obtained her slaves from the first zone which conquest gave her. She took them from southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, Greek Asia, and Carthaginian Africa: 150,000 Epirotes were sold at one time by Paulus Æmilius. These slaves, corrupt frequently, but intelligent and active, furnished the numerous freedmen who became at Rome architects or physicians, teachers or artists, and the friends and boon companions of the nobles. This zone being subjugated and reduced to peace, war no longer obtained captives in it, and it became necessary to seek working people in the second zone, and afterwards in the third. The great slave markets thus fell back with the frontiers. The concession of citizenship to the entire Empire fixed them there, and the barbarians who furnished the

supply sold the ruder prisoners whom they themselves had made captive in the heart of the barbaric world. Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus brought in such captives without number, filling the great estates with labourers incapable or dangerous, under whose hands the earth soon ceased to give other than the most meagre harvests.¹ The progressive steps of the Roman decline are marked by the constantly lowered social level; it is thus that the Athenian republic was ruined, and the great Roman Empire was to perish by the same causes.

Agriculture suffered from an evil of long standing. To the political concentration going on in the city and in the state had corresponded a concentration of fortunes and estates,² or rather the second fact had been the cause of the first, and free labour was disappearing from the country. During thirty years of invasion and civil war, agriculture must support, beside the usual burdens, innumerable requisitions and incessant devastations. Under so many disasters which extensive landowners alone could resist the petty proprietors succumbed. They abandoned their hereditary acres to become colonists, to take as soldiers their share in the immense pillage, or to seek in the cities higher wages and a life which they believed would be less severe. In Diocletian's edict, the labourer, the shepherd, the muleteer are paid but a third as much as the joiner, the mason, and the workers at trades in general; so that there came about an unfortunate circumstance which other ages have seen also: the urban population increasing at the expense of the rural population. Only one class had gained in numbers, the proletariat of the cities and of the country, where the colonists were beginning to establish serfdom.³

Agriculture loves the free labourer, and she had them no longer; to be richly productive she has need of the expenditure of capital, and if we except a few great proprietors, this

¹ Papinian, fifty years before the period with which we are now concerned, fixed the legal price of slaves at 20 aurei, or 500 denarii (*Digest*, iv. 4, 31). We may conclude from this that slaves were becoming scarce and consequently dear, for this price is high (see vol. ii. p. 306, n. 3), whereas the inferior quality of the slaves of that time ought to have lowered the price.

² We have seen, under Nero, that six landowners divided among themselves the whole province of Africa (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xviii. 6). In the time of Nerva, Frontinus says further: "In Africa private estates are as large as the whole territory of cities" (*Gromatici veter.*, p. 53). Under Theodosius is found the same condition of things.

³ In respect to the coloni, see vol. v. pp. 311 *et seq.*

community had none in reserve; hence the ground returned but small harvests and famine was always threatening.



As libralis of Latium.

Industry of every kind found itself no better off. The workshops, filled with the ignorant and despised lowest class, produced poor work, and the system of corporations destroyed competition. Certain industries whose existence the government made it a point to protect had been in good time constituted as monopolies, and it is said that Alexander Severus would have been glad to give all the trades a corporative organization,¹ which moreover private individuals took of their own choice. Everywhere traders and mechanics formed associations: the bakers of Rome and Ostia, boatmen of the Saone and of the Rhone, mariners of the Seine, ship-carpenters, ship-brokers, measurers of corn, and the like; all those who laboured with their hands sought security in union

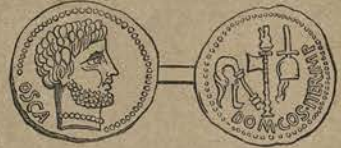
and fortune in the privileges which they secured from the authority or obtained for themselves by closing the common market against their rivals.²

¹ Vol. v. pp. 388 *et seq.*, and p. 293 of this volume.

² See vol. v. p. 562, n. 3, the privileges accorded to the traders and labourers connected with the mine of Aljustrel.

Manufacturing industry was still further slackened by the lessened demands of trade, hampered as it now was by revolutions, by the cessation of public works, by the increase of taxation, and also by piracy and robbery on the highways springing up again, against which the emperors no longer made war, so occupied were they with their own private quarrels. And it suffered perhaps most of all from an extremely bad monetary system.

The amount of silver and gold in circulation in the Empire was diminishing, less on account of the mines being exhausted than by reason of the difficulty of obtaining their products. This work, which had been so well carried on under the early Empire, required, in order to be kept up actively with the processes at that time employed, an energetic discipline; and for the existence of such a discipline there was needed for the Empire the strong and stable government which it no longer had.¹ When, in the reign of Valens, the Goths invaded Thrace, all the miners fled to the barbarians. A scarcity of the precious metals produced disastrous consequences. The Republic had at first known but one coin, the bronze as; after the Punic Wars silver became the monetary standard (the sesterce and the denarius). The early Empire had the gold piece (aureus), and for 200 years gold was the chief circulating medium, and with it silver, for copper does not seem to have been in use, none being found in



Denarius of Domitius Calvinus
of the year 40 B.C.



Copper Coin of the Third Century
A.D.: C. Postumus. (J. de Witte,
*Recherches sur les empereurs qui
ont régné dans les Gaules au
troisième siècle.* No. 256, pl. xvi.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *die Bergwerke*, pp. 72-91, and Flach, *Table d'Aljustrel*. Under the Republic and in the first century of the Empire the mines of precious metals and the quarries of marble which belonged to the state were farmed out like the other revenues. In the second century they were placed under the supreme direction of a *procurator Caesaris*, assisted by numerous subordinates for superintendence or direct management, *probatores*. When anarchy invaded the government it also took possession of the mines, whence slaves and criminals constantly made their escape. Observe that the procurator was often one of the emperor's freedmen, and that centurions, serving, like our discharged soldiers, in many civil occupations, sometimes had the superintendence of the works; thus, for the marbles of Synnada, in Phrygia, a centurion had charge of the *cæsura* or cutting. (*Mélanges de l'École franç. de Rome*, August, 1882, p. 291.)

the treasures buried at that time. We have elsewhere explained¹ that the great republican fortunes took more than a century to disappear. Public and private wealth held out under the Antonines. But in the third century both were seriously impaired. Of this there is twofold proof: the coins were debased, and in the buried money of that time pieces of gold become more and more rare, and there is a great quantity of copper. The aurei found have



Gold Coin of the Third Century A.D.: C. Postumus (*ibid.*, pl. xvi. No. 251). Providence on the Reverse.²

different weight, and we are obliged to conclude that, losing its character of a standard, the aureus came to be only a piece of gold accepted in trade for its weight, so that traffic retrograded until the time when buyer and seller needed to be furnished with scales.³

This would have been merely an annoyance and a waste of time; the monetary alterations were a cause of perpetual deceptions



Denarius of Nero.

and even of ruin to persons engaged in financial transactions. The sesterce was the unit under the Empire, a coin equal in value to a quarter of a denarius or one-hundredth of an aureus. Now the silver denarius being ninety-six to the

pound in the first years of Nero's reign, and almost of pure metal, contained in the time of Alexander Severus fifty or sixty per cent. of alloy, and from a value of about eightpence had fallen to about threepence-halfpenny.⁴ To this depreciation of silver naturally corresponded an augmentation in the value of gold. The state believed it wise to take advantage of these circumstances and accept only aurei in payment of taxes.⁵ It was the act of

¹ Vol. v. pp. 566 *et seq.*

² Quinarus of gold or *semis*, the half of an aureus. The quinarus of silver (or half denarius) was so called because it had the value of five ases. *Denarii*, says Varro, *quod denos aris valebant, quinarii, quod quinos.*

³ In the fourth century the treasury required, to prevent frauds, that the tax-gatherers should pay their receipts in ingots.

⁴ Two silver pieces of Decius, identical in appearance, are worth, the one fivepence, the other threepence (Mommson, *Hist. de la monnaie romaine*, vol. iii. p. 85, n. 1). Accordingly, treasury orders did not, as we have seen (p. 366, n. 2), bear the definite figures, so much money, like the 25,000 sesterces which were originally the pay of the legionary tribune, but an indication of the different kinds of money which, put together, would come to about the same sum.

⁵ See on that point, p. 246, n. 2.

a fraudulent bankrupt, such as it would be to refuse to receive into the public treasuries bank-notes issued by the state at their fair value. Or, if a word less harsh be preferred, it was an increase of taxation, such as has recently occurred in great states where, the paper money being below par, it has been decided that custom dues be paid in gold. The tax-payer, for example, who owed 100 sesterces could not pay it as before with twenty-five denarii, worth to him in his daily transactions less than eight shillings; he must deliver to the tax-gatherer an aureus, which was worth much more than that. After the year 256 silver coin contained not over twenty, and sometimes only five per cent. of pure metal. Under Claudius Gothicus, the Antoninianus, the silver coin most common in circulation, was a mixture of copper, tin, and lead, with a whitish coating, which gave the pieces when new an appearance of silver. But instead of a precious metal, the possessor of this piece of money had only an alloy of copper: it was nothing more than a token.¹ The same government which condemned the counterfeiter to the wild beasts,² gave a forced currency to the false coin which it put in circulation, and punished with banishment or death those who refused to receive it,³ on the ground that the emperor's image upon the piece was competent to give it the value that it pleased him to assign to it.



Antoninianus of
Claudius
Gothicus. (*Cabinet
de France.*)



Argentius Minutulus of
Caracalla.

The intrinsic value of the aureus was reduced, like that of the silver denarius: Cæsar made forty to the pound, Caracalla, fifty, Constantine, seventy-two; and at the same time the amount of pure metal employed decreased and the quantity of alloy increased: in the first century, .009; in the second, .062; in the third, still more.⁴

¹ From Claudius II. to Diocletian there are only very few coins which contain any silver at all (Eckhel, vii. 475). This author remarks that from the time of Claudius all the cities except Alexandria and three cities of Pisidia—Antioch, Seleucia, and Sagalassos—had lost the right of coining money.

² Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 10, 8.

³ Paul., *Sent. Recept.*, v. 25, 1.

⁴ Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 202. In respect to the distinction between coins

The Empire, therefore, was in a condition like that of France

in her most evil days, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and we can truthfully say that from the reign of Gallienus to the middle of that of Diocletian the monetary system of the Romans was a permanent bankruptcy.¹ Under the infliction of these constant perturbations of the monetary standard, discouraging to both the producer and the trader, labour diminished, and we have seen that from other causes the production lost in quality as well as quantity.

In the region of intellectual and artistic production the decline was even more manifest.

The religion of the beautiful disappeared with the gods who had inspired it, and dragged with it in its ruin art, which always corresponds with the mental condition, because in order to produce its work it requires to be



Faun of *Rosso antico*.
(Statue found at Hadrian's Villa. Vatican,
Museo Pio-Clementino, Cabinet, No. 433.)

solicited by the public taste. It had besides a formidable enemy. In its first age Christianity was iconoclastic; it anathematized

or pieces circulating in trade; commemorative medals, like the immense gold piece of Eucratidas (vol. iii., coloured plate facing p. 232); the imperial medallions employed as presents to great personages at the epoch of military gifts, and often worn around the neck on a collar as a decoration; the pieces made for religious offerings or for prizes at certain sacred games; those worn as talismans, theatrical tesseræ, tokens, and the like, see Lenormant, vol. i., Introduction. The custom of women wearing coins about the neck or set as ornaments is very ancient.

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la monnaie rom.*, vol. iii. p. 144, and Lenormant, *ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 172 and 184.

pagan art, it forbade its believers to cultivate it, and, wherever possible, it destroyed the statues of the gods. The bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century would not allow the figure of Christ to be represented, and the rude frescoes of the catacombs show



Conical Stones representing Melkarth-Baal, the Phœnician Hercules.¹

what painting became in Christian hands. Art, which was so useless to the new faith, was no more serviceable to the old. What could art do with the black stone of Elagabalus, the conical deities of Syrians, even with the Ephesian Diana of the fifty breasts,² or with the Olympians made objects of caricature, like

¹ Stones found at Malta, of which one is in the Museum of the Louvre. The Phœnician Hercules was represented in his sanctuary, in Tyre, by two columns of gold and emerald. The two cones of Malta bear the same inscription in Phœnician and Greek; it is a dedication made by two brothers to Melkarth-Baal, "the king of the city." (Communication of M. Ph. Berger.) In respect to conical stones, see above, p. 276, n. 3.

² See vol. iv. p. 23. And yet the Greeks had succeeded in giving to this deformed object all the beauty that it could have.

the beautiful Ganymede represented at the feasts of Isis by a monkey?¹ How could men have exhibited in marble or in bronze the hypostases of the neo-Platonists and the confused abstractions

of the Gnostics? From the temple and the forum, art had fallen to the boudoir. It at first maintained itself by the imitation of ancient work; but this imitation becoming more feeble as the models became more remote, no man knew how to produce anything that was not dull and affected. The inspiration being lost nothing remained except a handicraft, and the unworthy successors of the masters produced by contract for an impoverished and coarse community which had lost relish for the elegance of earlier days. Compare the busts of this period with the statues of the early Empire,² or the sculptures of



Ganymede as an Ape, on a Lamp in the Museum of the Louvre.

the Arch of Constantine with those of the Antonine age, even the pretty trifles, the exquisite vases, the graceful furniture of Pompeii with the ceramics and the heavy ornamentation of the end of the third century, and it will be apparent that barbarism is approaching.³

¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. 458) says of the bronze coins of Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus: *Ultimam plerique barbariem redolent, sic ut non in provincia . . . sed Sarmatas inter Gothosque . . . percussi videri possint*. Many others of these emperors are coins of the early Empire re-minted. (De Witte, *Revue numism.*, vi. 1861.) At the same time, M. de Witte has published many fine bronze coins of Postumus, and the difference is explained by the diversity of mints. That of Lyons especially, which belonged to the Gallic emperor, had traditions and artists enabling it to still issue fine coins, and we shall see them until the close of the century.

³ See, in the *Congrès archéologique de France*, vol. xlvii. 1881, pp. 220-239, the remarks of Dr. Plicque upon the Gallo-Roman pottery made at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).

Stern preachers of philosophy and religion had driven laughter away, while public calamities had put an end to happiness, and art, which is the joy of life, no longer knew how to adorn it: the sadness of the Middle Ages was beginning.

We must make allowance however for the barbarians. The fear of invasion had obliged the cities, which had remained open during "the Roman peace," to shut themselves up within walls; and to build these walls they had in many places already destroyed the buildings that more fortunate generations had erected. At Tours, at Orleans, at Angers, at Bordeaux, at Saintes, at Narbonne, at Reims, at Poitiers, and in many other cities of Gaul we find in the old walls fragments of columns or entablatures, monumental stones, and inscriptions. Themistocles did this in Athens, but Pericles and Phidias came after him, while after the great architects of the Antonines there were only masons.¹

The Greek language was still written with elegance:

Oppianus of Cilicia and Babrius (if Babrius belongs to the third century) are two good versifiers, almost two poets; the name of Longinus is always mentioned with respect; and Photius, in



Candelabrum of Hadrian's Villa (Marble); on the Base, Jupiter (the other Sides represent Juno and Minerva). (Vatican, Gallery of Statues, No. 412.)

¹ De Caumont, *Cours d'Ant. mon.*, 8th part, *passim*; Batissier, *Histoire de l'Art monumental*; *Revue archéol.*, November, 1877, p. 351; and *Mémoires de la Société archéol. de Bordeaux*, 1880, pp. 63 *et seq.*

a transport of generosity, places the historian Dexippos beside Thucydides; we certainly shall not give the same honour either to Dion Cassius, or Herodian, both of whom, however, have frequently been useful to us. Ælian and Philostratus must both



Candelabrum from Diomedes' House at Pompeii.

be censured for their simple-minded credulity; Diogenes Laertius and Athenæus, by the precious information which we owe them, and Origen, by his vigorous mind, announce the splendour which the Greek fathers of the subsequent century will cast over the Church. The Roman world was turning more and more towards the East; there is life nowhere else at this time.

As for Latin literature, it was absolute nullity. There were still men of letters, for there always must be in a civilized society; but the writers of the time saw only the lesser sides of things: they take anecdote for history, rhetoric for eloquence, versification for poetry.¹ The union once so fruitful between the genius of Rome and that of Athens no longer exists, and this divorce of the two literatures is a sign foretelling the approaching separation between the two empires.² The Latin mind grows visibly weaker, except in the Church, where Cyprian at Carthage is the precursor of Augustine at Hippo.

Meanwhile the Christians have also their share in the decline of the Empire. A half century of tranquillity had singularly increased their number; but although life, which was enfeebled in the pagan world, was ardent in their communities, they were for the state a cause of weakness rather than strength. The Roman law punished celibacy; they honoured it. The great development of the monastic system comes in the following century, but many believers already shunned marriage, which their clergy, as a rule, avoided.³ They lived by themselves, avoiding all intercourse with the heathen, except in cases of absolute necessity, and abhorred the sacrilegious festivals of the latter. Being foreigners in the cities whose honours they rejected, they were the same in the Empire, which they refused to defend with weapons,⁴ and without displeasure they saw the approach of the barbarians. On the way to execution S. Marianus exclaimed: "God will avenge the blood of the righteous. I hear, I see the white horsemen coming!" and Commodianus depicted in barbaric verse the Goths marching

¹ We must, however, regret the *Memoirs* of Septimius Severus and also perhaps the *History* of Marius Maximus, often quoted by the compilers of the *Augustan History*, although Vopiscus (*Firmus*, 1) says of this writer: *Homo omnium verborisissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*, and some other chroniclers of whom we know scarcely more than the names. There remain three verses written by the Emperor Gallienus, a fragment of an epithalium which he composed for the marriage of one of his nephews. Censorinus wrote his treatise *de Die natali* in 239. Two other grammarians, Nonius Marcellus and Festus, are sometimes said to belong to the third century. The two versifiers, Nemesianus and Calpurnius, come at the close of the century, and cannot be placed in the list of true poets; Calpurnius is a very skilful maker of verses.

² In the fourth century the eastern bishops and most illustrious doctors of the Church were ignorant of Latin.

³ See on this subject, pp. 217 *et seq.*

⁴ See p. 212 of this volume, and also what is said by Ælius Aristides (vol. ii. p. 402, ed. Dindorf) of Christians who are unwilling to participate in the affairs of the city.

upon Rome with "the destroyer king,"¹ to bring to nought the enemies of the saints and to put the senate under the yoke. Marianus and "Christ's beggar" were right in announcing to the persecutors an approaching expiation, but others were wrong in making themselves the instruments of it. In Pontus, the Christians united with the Goths in pillaging the heathen, overthrowing the idols and burning the temples;² consequently the emperors at last taking alarm, sought to extirpate by sword and fire that refractory element which the menaces of the law and judicial executions had not been able to hold in check. Then terror was to brood over the nations, the purest blood was to flow, and a civil war was to be added to the foreign war.

This civil war has the character of wars among savages. The western provinces have already witnessed scenes as terrible as those of the American frontier, when the savages swoop down upon it, scalping the men, carrying off the women, and leaving the buildings a mass of smoking ruins. As guides to the richest dwellings and the best-concealed treasures, the invaders found the slaves of barbaric origin, who regarded them as liberators. In Thrace and Greece and Asia Minor there was also bloodshed and devastation, and long trains of captives whom the barbarians, when wearied with expeditions and satisfied with plunder, carried away with them to their encampments in the North. At each new invasion the ravages extended further; first by land, then by sea.

¹ *Commod. episc. Afric. Carmen apologeticum*, in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of Dom Pitra, i. p. 43. Commodianus calls the Gothic king Apoleon, from ἀπόλλυμι, to ruin, to destroy "He marches upon Rome," says this old author, "with thousands of Gentiles and . . . makes captive the vanquished. Many senators shall with them weep in chains. . . . Meanwhile these Gentiles will everywhere cherish the Christians and, rejoicing, seek them out as brethren . . ." (verses 800-815). From verse 801 on, the *Carmen* is believed to have been written at the exact time with which we are now occupied, before the persecution of Decius, in 238. Tertullian, in his *Apol.*, 37, addressed to the Roman magistrates, calls upon them to regard it as a merit in the Christians that they did not favour the attacks of the Mauretanians upon Hadrian, of the Marcomanni upon Marcus Aurelius, of the Parthians upon Severus, which proves that in his heart the idea of aiding the enemies of the Empire was not repugnant to him. Two centuries later, Salvienus, in his *Gubern. Dei*, still extolled, in the midst of the calamities of an invasion, "the virtues of the barbarians who repulse all those infamous practices which the Romans permit. Vice, which is with them the exception, is the rule among us." This is the same spirit which, in the first century, led S. John to condemn "the great whore." See pp. 211-8 of this volume.

² See the fifth canon of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus in Routh, *Reliquiæ sacræ*, iii. 262, who adds: *Ista Barbarorum incursio gravissimis inter christianos perpetrandis delictis occasionem præbuit.*

The Goths were soon to construct vessels and carry devastation along all the coasts. "Hordes of Scythians," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "crossing with 2,000 vessels the Bosphorus and the Propontis, devastated the shores of the Ægean Sea. . . . All the cities of Pamphylia suffered the horror of a siege; Anchialos was taken; many islands were ravaged, and a multitude of enemies for a long time surrounded Cyzicus and Thessalonica. Fire was carried through all Macedon; Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece suffered invasion."¹ The rich cities bordering the sea of the Cyclades were obliged to rebuild their walls, which two centuries of peace had suffered to fall into decay, the Athenians to resume their weapons, grown rusty since the time of Sylla, and the Peloponnesians to bar their isthmus with a wall.² Everywhere were contests and bloodshed. At Philippopolis a hundred thousand dead bodies, it was said, lay beneath the ruins. The provinces unvisited by the Franks and Goths had other plunderers; in Sicily freebooters became so numerous that the island, once so favoured, seemed ravaged by a new Servile war.

Man, directing his strength against himself, suspended the struggle against the powers of nature, which resumed their sway, and declared it with a cruel energy. From the accumulated ruins, the untilled ground, and the undrained waters emerged contagion. The empire was like a great body in dissolution, exhaling deadly miasma. For twelve years (250-262) there was constantly a pestilence in the provinces; at one time in Rome and Achaia, 5,000 persons died daily; at Alexandria there was not a house without its dead, and the army of Valerian was reduced by sickness before encountering the archers of Sapor.

To these scourges was added another. The volcanic region, which extends in two directions from the Alps of Friuli across Italy and Sicily to Africa, and from the Adriatic to the Ægean Sea and the coasts of Syria, resumed their activity. The earth was shaken, and gave forth dull rumbling sounds; the sky was black for many days; chasms yawned in the ground; and the sea, hurling tremendous waves upon the shore, destroyed many cities.

¹ xxxi. 5. The picture which Zosimus (i. 23) traces of these devastations is even more gloomy.

² Zosimus, i. 29; the *Syncellus*, i. 715 (Bonn ed.); Zonaras, xii. 22.

It seemed as if the threats uttered by the Christians concerning the end of the world were about to be fulfilled. The Sibylline books being consulted, ordered a sacrifice to Jupiter *Salutaris*.¹

A document, preserved by Eusebius, sums up in brief and terrible words the situation of the Empire. In the capital of Egypt the number of persons between the ages of fourteen and eighty, inscribed during the reign of Gallienus on the registers of the alimentary institution, did not exceed the number of the men from forty to seventy who formerly had shared in these distributions.² Alexandria therefore had at this time lost more than one half of her population, and if such were the case in a city which had never seen a barbarian,³ what must have been the condition of the provinces where they made so many victims? It would not be going too far to say that in the space of twenty years that portion of the human race contained within the limits of the Empire, and formerly so prosperous, had diminished by one half. Such was one of the effects of governmental anarchy and of the appearance of the Germanic race in the Græco-Roman world.

We have admired the early Empire promoting order, security, and labour, the chief function of government in all ages, and its excuse in periods of absolute power, and we have repeated the words of gratitude that its subjects at that time so often uttered. It is now our duty to show these same subjects disaffected towards rulers who knew not how to defend them, and who so often ill-used them. Rome is no longer the sovereign goddess in whom all confide. Each province desires to have its own emperor; even dynasties of Gallic and Syrian origin appear. That is what a half century of revolutions has made of the flourishing empire of the Antonines and Severus.* In states where the ruler is everything and institutions are nothing, decline may rapidly succeed greatness, for though we may not say that there are providential men, there are necessary men. Let Trajan, Hadrian, or Severus

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 4 and 5.

² *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 21, from a letter of Dionysios, the bishop of Alexandria. In France, out of every million of inhabitants, there are 789,559 between the ages of 18 and 80, and 267,652 between the ages of 40 and 70. The proportion between these two numbers is 2·95 to 1.

³ Egypt had suffered no invasion, but had been for twelve years agitated with sanguinary tumults, which the carelessness of the general government had allowed to break out in many other places. (Euseb., *ibid.*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16.)

be at the head of the government, and a hundred million Romans live in quiet and prosperity ; let these men be replaced by those who are incapable of ruling, and disorder is in the armies and the barbarians are in the provinces. Civilization advances not by means of the masses, but by means of superior men ; when nature formed no more men of that stamp, civilization fell away.

CHAPTER XCVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DECIUS TO THE DEATH OF GALLIENUS (249-268).

PARTIAL INVASIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

I.—DECIUS (249-251 A.D.); GOTHS AND CHRISTIANS.

C. MESSIUS QUINTUS TRAJANUS DECIUS was born of a Roman family, living in the village of Bubalia near Sirmium: in the year 201, according to Aurelius Victor; in 191, according to the *Chronicle of Alexandria*. He heads the long list of Illyrian emperors, many of whom were destined to do the state great service. They were not men of brilliant qualities, but they were of accurate minds and



Etruscilla, Wife of Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)



Trajan Decius.
(Bronze Medallion.)

energetic character, as might be expected from natives of those poor and warlike provinces.

Decius was of humble origin, and rose to distinction through his military career.¹ The old authors praise² him very highly, but his reign does not justify their eulogiums; it was extremely short, and the history of it is singularly confused and contains many contradictions. Three facts, however, are distinct, and they suffice: a war against the Goths; the re-establishment of the censorship, which indicates a return towards ancient customs; and,

¹ *Militiæ gradu ad imperium* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 29).

² Especially Zosimus (i. 21-23) and Aur. Victor (29).

as a result of this, a persecution against Christianity, the great novelty of the times.

After his victory near Verona (September, 249),¹ Decius went to Rome with his son, Quintus Herennius Etruscus, whom he had named Cæsar;² but he was almost immediately forced to leave it to repel an invasion of the Goths.

Confiding in the successes he had obtained in Thrace over these barbarians, Gordian III. put an end to the annual subsidy promised to this nation. At least, Jordanes³ relates that king Ostrogotha complained of this, and that he crossed the Danube with 30,000 of his people to ravage Mœsia. Other barbarians joined him; Roman soldiers even came to have a share in the plunder, and the mountaineers of the Hæmus, upon whom civilization had had but little effect, doubtless furnished the invaders with guides and auxiliaries. The great city of Marcianopolis (to the west of Varna) escaped by the payment of a ransom.⁴

When the Goths returned with rich spoils, the Gepidæ attempted to plunder the plunderers; a hot engagement took place, in which the former were victorious. These events took place during the reign of



Herennius Etruscus, Son of the Emperor Decius.



Coin of Odessus. The God standing, at the Left, holding a Cornucopia and a Patera.⁵

¹ We have a rescript of his, dated October 16th, 249, in the *Code*, x. 16, 3, and, according to Eckhel, Philip was still living on the 29th of August of that year.

² Eckhel, vol. vii. 342. Aurelius Victor (29) says that the Cæsar was immediately sent *in Illyrios*. Decius had a second son, C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, who was also made Cæsar and Prince of the Youth.

³ In respect to the pensions paid the Goths since the time of Alexander Severus, see Tillemont, iii. 216. Jordanes, in his *History of the Goths*, gives an abstract of a great work, now lost, by Cassiodorus, the favourite minister of Theodoric. In respect to the Gothic war, see Wietersheim, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., where he discusses the contradictory narratives of Jordanes, Zosimus, Zonaras, and Aur. Victor. These details, however, lose all their interest in presence of the too certain fact of the defeat of the Roman army and the death of Decius.

⁴ *Post longam obsidionem, accepto premio ditatus Geta recessit* (Jordanes, 17).

⁵ The Greek colonies of the coast of Thrace, far from changing the condition of the country, had undergone the influence of the barbarians, their neighbours, who had modified the manners, the forms of worship, and even the language of these Greeks. An inscription of the year 238 shows, at Odessus, the Thracian god, Derziparos, and upon early coins of that city the great god of the Odessians was Kurza. (*Revue archéol.*, March, 1878, p. 114; cf. Dumont, *Inscr. de Thrace*.)

Philip. The invasion had been so disastrous for Mœsia that the monetary series of the Pontic cities stops with this emperor; they had no more gold left to coin.

In the reign of Decius, Kniva, the successor of Ostrogotha, made a still more formidable invasion; he divided his forces into two bodies, sent one to ravage the part of Mœsia which the Roman troops had abandoned in order to concentrate themselves in the strongholds, and with the other, which amounted to 70,000 men, he attacked *Ad Novas*, an important city on the Danube. Repulsed by the future emperor, Gallus, at that time *dux* (duke) in Mœsia, he attempted to surprise Nicopolis, which Trajan had

built in memory of his Dacian victories. But the Gothic leader encountered an army which Decius had collected at that point. Unable to force the lines, the barbarian with the audacity of an Indian



Quinarius of Bronze of Trajan Decius, equal in value to Two Sesterces.

marauder, left the emperor in his camp, and advanced into the Hæmus, of which the passes were entirely unguarded; he came down upon the great city of Philippopolis, without keeping open a line of retreat.¹ Decius followed him over mountain paths, where the Roman army, both men and horses, suffered severely. The emperor had reached Berœa, sixty miles eastward from Philippopolis, and believed himself to be still far distant from the Goths, when Kniva, falling upon him unawares, made great slaughter among the imperial troops. Decius had only time to escape across the Hæmus. While the emperor was reforming an army from the garrisons of fortresses, Kniva seized upon Philippopolis by the connivance of Priscus, the governor of Macedon, who seems to have assumed the purple.² The barbarian king then returned into Mœsia, to deposit in a safe place across the Danube

¹ This is the same movement which gave the Russians the victory in the late war.

² Aur. Victor (29) represents the Goths as entering Macedonia, where, according to this author, they instigated the usurpation of Priscus.

the fruits of this fortunate campaign. On his way he encountered the emperor, who sought to avenge the Empire by re-capturing from the Goths their booty and their captives, among whom were several persons of rank. The treason of Gallus caused him to lose a second battle, in which he perished with his son, and not even his dead body was recovered (November, 251).¹

This was the first emperor who fell under the enemy's sword within Roman territory. Consequently this disaster carried terror through the provinces and joy and hope into the barbaric world; it was the terrible prologue to the great drama which was not to end until the day when the German race, after covering with blood and ruins all Roman Europe and a part of the East, installed one of the Heruli in the palace of Augustus and Trajan.

Two great faults and one blunder had been committed by Decius during his very short reign. Notwithstanding his experience he neither knew how to prepare for a Gothic war nor to carry it on sagaciously, and the result was the devastation of two provinces and his own death. As he would have had the credit of a victory, so he must bear the blame of a defeat. His second fault was the persecution of the Christians. His blunder exhibits a political simplicity astonishing in a man of his time; he re-established the censorship, fallen into disuse since the days of Claudius and Domitian, and the senate invested Valerian with the office. "Undertake the censorship of the world," the emperor said to him; "determine who shall remain in the senate and restore to the equestrian order its renown; take charge of the census and the levying of taxes; make the laws, and appoint to the high military offices. Your supervision will extend as far as the imperial palace and over all magistrates, with the exception of the urban prefect, the consuls, the *rex sacrorum*, and the chief vestal."

If Trebellius Pollio² really read these words in the public acts of the reign, it was a temporary colleague that Decius gave himself, a sort of interrex whom he left behind him in the capital,

¹ Before Kniva's invasion, it would appear that Decius gained some victories in Dacia, for an inscription calls him *restitutor Daciarum* (Orelli, 991), and against the Germans, *victoria Germanica* (Eckhel, vol. vii. 344-5), but there is no trace of this in the histories.

² *Valerianus*, 1.

at a moment when he and his son were about to depart for a dangerous war.¹ We can even discern in this measure a new manifestation of the idea that it was wise to divide the imperial power among several persons, to have, as in the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, one emperor in the city and another in the army.

The censorship had wisely been suffered to fall into disuse, for it was an institution which, though useful in a little city, must necessarily be impracticable in a great state. But if it was impossible to restore the past, it appeared practicable to proscribe certain things in the present; and Valerian, who by no means brought back the manners of early Rome, made in the name of Decius, and later in his own name, a bitter war against the new creeds.

The Christian ideal was higher than that of Marcus Aurelius, but it was less disinterested. The sage who chanced to be an emperor asked for nothing in return for his obedience to duty; and hence but few have followed him. The Christian, on the contrary, made his bargain with God, as the pagan world had bargained with Jupiter. In return for their piety, the latter desired earthly good; in return for his, the former felt himself secure of eternal blessedness. His religion, therefore, possessed a powerful attraction for those spirits who were not resigned to submit to the universal law of creation: after life, death, and the secret of the tomb left to God. To the divine hopes which she held out, the Church added words and deeds of gentleness. In the midst of an aristocratic community, extremely harsh towards the lowly, she taught the equality of all men, great and small, Roman and barbarian, in the presence of the divine law, and promised to "the servants of God," whether slaves or senators, the same rewards. Her spirit of universal love, her care for the sick and poor, the new virtues that she required, in the place of those that the Romans had lost in losing the dignity of citizenship,² had gained her many hearts.

But, while the number of believers was increasing, the virtue of the early days seemed to decay. If we may accept the words of S. Cyprian, we must believe that the peace, which the Church

¹ Zonaras (xii. 22) even makes Valerian the colleague of Decius.

² Vol. i. p. 148, and vol. v. pp. 413 *et seq.*

had now enjoyed for forty years, had been fatal to discipline and morals; that piety was dead in the priests, integrity in the ministers, charity in the believers, and that all the vices of the pagan world had invaded the members of Jesus Christ. Instead of assisting the poor, they fraudulently possessed themselves of lands and heritages, and increased their revenues by usury.¹ "We



S. Cyprian and S. Laurence on a Gilded Glass of the Catacombs. (Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxviii. No. 7.)

devour one another," says a second contemporary; "and our sins have raised a wall between God and us. Haman insults us; Esther, with all the righteous, is in confusion, for all the virgins have suffered their lamps to go out; they are asleep, and the door is shut. When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth? The Word has his fan in his hand that he may cleanse his floor."² Like all pulpit orators, S. Cyprian exaggerates. His picture "of the fall" is too dark, as his apologies

¹ *De Lapsis, passim.*

² S. Pionius, priest in Smyrna and martyr in 250. (*Ap. Bollandists, February 1st, p. 45.*) Reference to the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins: *an omnino dormitaverunt omnes virgines et dormierunt* . . . (*Id., ibid.*)

are too brilliant in colour. S. Cyprian wrote in the midst of a persecution; since God had permitted it, its justice must be proved, and the irregularities of the Christians became necessary to explain the divine chastisement. Events really had a more natural cause. Since the time of the short persecution under Severus,¹ heroism had not been called out; there had followed a relaxed enthusiasm, and consequently a less rigorous life. But the hatred between Christians and pagans remained unabated, and the latter, seeing so many woes fall upon the Empire, invasions of barbarians, a destructive pestilence, and endless revolutions, believed the gods offended by the impunity allowed to those who blasphemed them. The government also became uneasy at the presence of this enemy, which, under penalty of destruction, the pagan state must either assimilate or destroy. Decius, a harsh and narrow-minded ruler, who, in his love of the past, believed himself able to resuscitate the dead, restore to the senate its power and to Jupiter his thunderbolts, undertook to avenge his gods. He promulgated an edict, which was posted in all the cities, ordering search to be made for all Christians, and punishment to be inflicted upon them. A war of extermination began. It appeared at first to succeed, because even more skill than cruelty was employed in it. All the efforts of the proconsuls were directed towards obtaining acts of apostasy. "Tortures," says S. Cyprian, "were continuous; they were not planned to give the crown, but to exhaust the power of endurance."² Accordingly apostasies were numerous. "To save his life, the son gave up the father, the father denounced the son."—"At Carthage the greater number of the brethren deserted at the first threats of the enemy. They did not wait to be questioned, but to preserve the wealth which held their souls captive, they hastened voluntarily to sacrifice to the idols; they implored the magistrates to receive them on the instant to burn the impure incense, and not to put off until the morrow that which was to make their eternal ruin sure." At Alexandria the same scenes took place, and at Smyrna, Rome,

¹ Origen (*Contra Celsum*, iii.) says that, until the time of the great persecution under Decius, there was but "a very small number, easy to count," of Christians put to death.

² S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 8, 52, 53, and his *de Lapsis*; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 39, 41; Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*; Tillemont, iii. 326-345.



The Emperor Decius. (Statue of the Capitol.)

and throughout the Empire. Even bishops were seen leading their entire congregations into apostasy. Trophimus of Arles himself accompanied the Christians to pagan altars. Others, with money, bought toleration: the *libellatici* were very numerous. These weaknesses are in human nature, and we have no cause to wonder that Christianity, as it extended, lost something of its early virtue.

However, the persecution of Decius seems not to have been as severe as has been asserted.¹ A sentence of death was not always the inevitable sentence. Some were despoiled of their goods; others were thrown into prison: Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Jerusalem, of very advanced age, could not support the rigours of imprisonment, and died in consequence. The most formidable, because at that time the most famous, of the Christians, Origen, was loaded with chains and threatened with the stake, but "the man of steel" betrayed no weakness. The torturers were wearied sooner than their victim; he was set at liberty and lived four years longer.²

As the persecution had been publicly announced many had time to escape. The most conspicuous leaders, Cyprian of Carthage, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus escaped the peril, quitting their episcopal cities to live in some adjacent retreat whence they could communicate with the faithful. It must have been easy for many others to place themselves in shelter. Of these fugitives some went among the barbarians, others took refuge in the desert.

The martyrologies enumerate in this period a considerable number of martyrs; but serious authors dare not guarantee the authenticity of these *Acts*, filled with anachronisms and marvellous legends, like that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, who being

¹ Except in Egypt, where there was doubtless a governor particularly bitter against the Christians. In Alexandria, a popular riot had cost the lives of several of them before the arrival of the edict of Decius. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 41.) After the publication of the edict there were many apostasies and a certain number of martyrs. However, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria at this time, mentions as martyred after the edict but nine men and four women. (*Ibid.*) There must have been more.

² Origen, who was called *Ἀδελφάντιος* (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 14), was at that time sixty-five years of age. He had recently written (between 245 and 249) his great work against Celsus, the *Λόγος ἀληθής*. S. Cyprian says of the African confessors: *Nec cessistis suppliciis, sed vobis potius supplicia cesserunt* (*Ep.*, 10).

shut up in a cave, and walled in, emerged, living, two centuries after. We should not, however, fall into the opposite extreme, concluding from these pious frauds that there were very few condemnations to death. The edict of Decius reveals an intention on the part of the imperial government to strike a heavy blow;¹ a few of the leaders of the Church, bishops or doctors, perished, and, as always, the common people and the slaves. The most illustrious victims were S. Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse, Pionius, priest in Smyrna, who, by his sacrifice, made up for the apostasy of his bishop,² and Fabian, bishop of Rome, whose see remained vacant a year and a half. Pionius was crucified, and with him a Marcionite, so the heretics had their martyrs also. If they had told us their story, they would have added glorious chapters to the great and terrible epic of persecution which has kept burning in men's minds across the centuries the flame of self-devotion, and still incites to noble sacrifices.

The storm let loose upon the Church by him whom Lactantius calls "the accursed beast," lasted in reality but a few months. At the end of the year 250 peace had been almost entirely restored to the Christian believers, and before the death of Decius all the imprisoned confessors were set free.³ The emperor had quite other work to do than torturing these inoffensive men on account of their belief. Kniva and his Goths compelled him to occupy himself less with his gods than with the Empire, and he left his undertaking incomplete. The persecution had been no more successful than the censorship of morals; but the latter had been but a harmless whim, while the former had caused tears and blood to be shed, and their trace still rests upon the persecutor's name.

¹ S. Cyprian (*Ep.*, 52) speaks of the hatred of Decius towards the bishops. See, in the *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, the severity of the orders sent to the governors to bring back the Christians τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων λατρείᾳ φόβῳ τε καὶ τῇ τῶν αἰκισμάτων ἀναγκῇ.

² A fugitive slave perished with him.

³ If the *Acts* of S. Acacius are authentic (Bollandists, March 10th). Decius himself ordered the release of that bishop.

II.—RAVAGES OF THE BARBARIANS IN THE EMPIRE; VALERIAN;
PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS (251–260).

In the critical position where the army stood after the defeat and death of Decius, it had neither time nor disposition to await



Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 73.)

a decision of the senate. Gallus easily obtained the purple from his legions.¹ In order to free himself from the suspicion of

¹ C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, born in 206, according to Aur. Victor, and in 194, according to the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. He was perhaps an African, a native of the island of Meninx.

betraying his emperor, he took for colleague Hostilianus, the second son of Decius, and he caused his own son Volusianus, whom he made Caesar,¹ to marry the sister of the second Augustus. Not long after, however, the later died or was killed. A dis-



Volusianus, Son of Treb. Gallus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors.)

graceful treaty had permitted the Goths to recross the Danube unmolested, taking with them their booty and their captives, and the promise of an annual subsidy in gold. But they had found the Empire so rich and at the same time so feeble, that it was to be expected that either Kniva or other chiefs would soon return.

¹ Eckhel, vol. vii. 365. After the death of Hostilianus, his brother-in-law was made Augustus (*ibid.*, 566), and reigned from November, 251, to February, 254.

There was, in fact, talk of new encounters in Pannonia, which the governor Æmilianus, a Mauretanian, knew how to turn to his own advantage. These slight successes encouraged his troops, whose military pride had been wounded by the treaty of Gallus with the Goths. The distribution among the soldiers of the money sent for the Gothic tribute completed the conquest, and the troops proclaimed their general.¹ Pestilence and famine desolated the provinces without interrupting the effeminate life Gallus was leading at Rome, and the people held him responsible for these disasters.



Hostilianus,
Second Son of Decius.²



Volusianus, Son of Gallus,
wearing a Radiated Crown.³
(Aureus.)



Trebonius Gallus,
Laurel crowned.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Æmilianus penetrated unopposed into Italy,⁴ as far as the city of Terni, where he met his opponent. A promise of money to the troops of Gallus decided the defection. The emperor was killed with his son (February, 254), and the victor had a few days of royalty.

This vain person⁵ promised the senate to renew the glory of the great reigns, to leave to the Conscript Fathers the administration of the state, while, he himself undertaking the hardships of war, would go and drive out the barbarians from the north and east; already he allowed himself to be represented on medals with the attributes of Hercules the Victorious and Mars the Avenger.

Even before the death of Gallus, Valerian, whom this emperor

¹ About the close of August, 253. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 371.)

² *Caesar VALENS HOSTILIANUS (sic) MESIUS QVINTVS Nobilis Caesar.* (Large bronze.)

³ *IMperator CAEsar Caius VIBIVS VOLVSIVS (sic) AVGVSTVS.* (Gold coin.)

⁴ About the end of 253. In this case of difficult chronology we follow Eckhel, who has learnedly discussed the grounds for it.

⁵ M. Æmilius Æmilianus. (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,542.)

had employed to bring to his succour the legions of Gaul and Germany, had been by them (253) decorated with the purple in Rhætia. Rome had, therefore, three emperors at once. The disaster of Terni removed one of these. Valerian had no need to fight against the other. The soldiers of his opponent, feeling themselves the weaker party, and possibly offended at the advances made by their emperor to the senate, sent to the new Augustus the head of Æmilianus. The unfortunate man had been murdered near Spoleto; he had reigned not quite three months.¹



Æmilianus as
Mars. (MARTI
PROPUGN-
TORI.) (Silver
Coin.)

We find in this year a prefect of Rome who had the title of *comes domesticorum*, a new designation, and destined to be very conspicuous. Already we have seen *duces* and *præsidentes*; at the great council of war held in Byzantium, in 258, the emperor will be surrounded by them. Also the *amicus principis* (the emperor's counsellor) becomes a functionary; one Clarus was made prefect of Illyria and the Gallic provinces, and during the reign now beginning there were to be, as it were, two empires, that of the East, where Valerian was waging war, and that of the West, over which his son Gallienus ruled as Augustus. The elements of the approaching reform were in preparation.



Laurelled Head of Valerian
(IMP. C. P. L. I. C.
VALERIANUS AVG.).
(Large Bronze.)

We are about to enter upon the period known in history as that of the Thirty Tyrants, that is to say, of the most horrible confusion. We shall pass quickly over it, as in some dangerous or malarial locality the

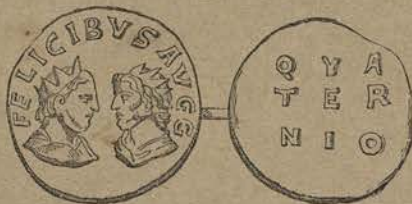
traveller hastens his steps.

The disorder existing in the state appears in the narratives which describe it. Even the chronology is uncertain, for this reason, that the emperors succeed each other too quickly for each to have time to issue the coins which fix our dates. The one thing plainly visible is that the whole barbarian world fell upon the Empire: the Franks overran Gaul; the Alemanni crossed the

¹ Eutropius says that he was killed *tertio mense*.

Rhine; the Goths or Scythians, the Danube and Euxine; the Persians, the Tigris and Euphrates.

Valerian was an upright man, who had with good reason been made the censor of others because he had always been his own censor; a man very well worthy of the second rank, but not of the first.¹ He endeavoured to relieve the public distress; he listened willingly to advice, and advanced men of worth. Claudius, Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Aurelian, were all distinguished by him, and Probus owed to this emperor his first honours.² But



Valerian and his Son Gallienus, wearing the Radiate Crowns. (Quaternio of Copper Alloy.)

the conduct of affairs required at a period of such extreme disorder something more than good intentions: there was needed a clear and active mind, much firmness and perseverance, none of which qualities Valerian possessed. Moreover, he came to power too late; old age is the time for repose, and not that for duties which require energy both of mind and body.³



Gallienus on Horseback treading down an Enemy.⁴

To oppose Gallus, Æmilianus had brought into Italy the best troops from Pannonia, while to assist the former Valerian had led thither the flower of the Rhenish legions. The barbarians, who had not failed to observe this weakening of the garrisons of the frontier, attempted a new assault. Valerian had the wisdom to see that alone he could not possibly repel so many threats. Instead, however, of taking as his colleague one of the many valiant and experienced generals at this time in the Roman army, he chose his son Gallienus, who was too young to possess authority, and too effeminate to employ it well if he had had it.⁵ Father and son divided the defence. Valerian undertook the East,

¹ P. Licinius Valerianus was of an old family, and at this time sixty-three years of age. He had held office as tribune for the first time while Gallus was yet living, in the year 253.

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20; Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 8, 9, 11-15; *Prob.*, 3-5.

³ Zosimus is very severe upon Valerian (i. 36).

⁴ Reverse of a silver medallion with the legend: *VIRTVS GALLIEMI*.

⁵ All the coins of Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus give him the title of Augustus; not one that of Cæsar.

Gallienus the West (255); we shall see that both were incapable at their imperial trade.

Gallienus was still entirely devoted to pleasure, and passed his time in amusements of all kinds.¹ His father had but little confidence in this boy,² and yet dared not give him, as counsellor and guide, Aurelian, whose severity seemed to the old emperor too great for the time and especially too great for his son. He placed



The Straits of Hercules.

him in charge of Postumus, a skilful soldier, appointing the latter *dux* of the Rhenish frontier and governor of Gaul. Although the Romans still possessed their strongholds along the Rhine, the Frankish marauders could always find somewhere on the extensive frontier an ill-guarded point through which their bands could slip into the

province. When they had once crossed the line of the *castra*,³ they were in the presence of disarmed populations who trembled at the sight of these yellow-haired warriors whose weapons never missed their mark; and the invaders went on across rivers and over mountains for the pleasure of seeing, of slaying, and of setting on fire the villas and cities. The Pyrenees did not arrest them, nor the Straits of Hercules; and the Moors with terror saw these sons of another world, whose destructive instincts would later be revealed to them by the Vandals. Among the Spanish towns pillaged or destroyed by the Franks, Eusebius names the great city of Tarragona,⁴ in which 150 years did not suffice to efface

¹ Never had entertainments been more numerous than in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. (Eckhel, vol. iv. 422.)

² *Puer*. The word is in a letter quoted by Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 9), of which the authenticity has been called in question, though upon insufficient grounds. It is true that Aurelius Victor makes Gallienus thirty-five years of age at the time of his accession to the Empire.

³ They seem to have come into Gaul by the valley of the Moselle, where have been found many coins of this period which doubtless were buried at their approach.

⁴ Eusebius places the taking of Tarragona by the Franks in the year 263. According to Orosius (vii. 22) they remained a dozen years in Spain (256-268).

the traces of this devastation. Herda, in the time of Ausonius, was only a heap of ruins;¹ and in the fifth century Orosius speaks of many Spanish cities in ruins. If, as we said in relating the reign of Augustus, the Empire had been able to give the provincial assemblies a serious existence, and the municipal militia of the first century² had endured until the third, Spain could easily have repelled this handful of invaders. It was the isolation of the cities which prevented them from organizing for the common defence.

Gallienus cared little for these disasters: the Spanish and African sun, the civilization—whose contact is deadly to the barbarians when they are not strong enough to destroy it—would soon get the better of these bold marauders. He contented himself with detaining the bulk of the nation on the Rhine by many small combats, and finally, by the means so often employed, that of buying over a barbarian chief who should guard the frontiers for him; after which he assumed the name of Germanicus and caused himself to be represented on coins as the conqueror of two rivers, the Main and the Rhine, of which the one protected Gaul against the Germans and the other opened Germany to a Roman invasion.³ Aurelian distinguished himself in these laborious campaigns. He destroyed a Frankish corps near Mayence, and three lines of a song of his soldiers have been preserved:



Gallienus conquering the Main and the Rhine. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

*Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus.
Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos occidimus,
Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille Persas quærimus.*⁴

In 258 an insurrection of the legions of Pannonia called Gallienus into that province; it had hardly been repressed when the Alemanni, not finding it possible to get through into Gaul, whose frontier was well guarded by Postumus, threw themselves

¹ At the end of the fourth century. (*Ep.*, xxv. 5, 3.)

² Vol. iv. pp. 44 *et seq.*

³ Eckhel, vol. vii. 385, 390-91. Postumus issued similar coins. (*Ibid.*, 447.)

⁴ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 6. The date of this event is uncertain. Tillemont places it too early, in 242, for Valerian's letter to the urban prefect (*ibid.*, 9), in which the emperor calls him *liberator Illyrici, Galliarum restitutor*, and makes allusion to the important services which had lately brought Aurelian into notice, was written in 257.

upon Italy and advanced as far as Ravenna. In the time of Aurelian they made their boast that 40,000 of their cavalry had watered their horses at the river Po, and ravaged a large part of



Reverse of a Gold Medallion of Gallienus, found at Monaco in 1879.²

the peninsula.¹ It was the first time since the Cimbri that the Germans touched, otherwise than as captives, the sacred soil of old Italy. The Alps then were no longer an insurmountable barrier, and the fear of the Gallic "tumults," which four victorious centuries had dissipated, broke out afresh. Rome was in alarm. In the absence of the emperors, the senate levied troops and armed the citizens: it was the first worthy

act done by them for many years. The Alemanni, doubtless less numerous³ than they afterwards represented themselves to be, and



Reverse of a Coin of Salonina, with the Legend, AUG. IN PACE.⁴

already laden with booty, made a disorderly retreat towards the Alps. Gallienus had time to arrive from Pannonia, and he defeated some detachments near Milan (258 or 259). In the hope of preventing the return of similar incursions, he employed upon the Danube the policy which had seemed to succeed upon the Rhine, that of alliances bought by gifts or honours; he married the daughter of a

king of the Marcomanni, Pipa by name, and seated her beside the empress Cornelia Salonina. The fair-haired German became the emperor's favourite and supreme in the palace, where Salonina consoled herself with empty honours and philosophizing with the chief of the new Alexandrian school.⁵

¹ Dexippos, *Excerpta de Legat.*, in the *Scriptores Historie Byzantine*; Orosius, vii. 22.

² P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. IIII. P. P. The emperor, wearing the prætexta, holding a wand in the left hand and a patera in the right, sacrifices at a lighted altar. Cf. Mowat, *Trésor de Monaco*, p. 9. This medallion is regarded with great doubt by M. Muret on account of the contradiction existing between COS. IIII. on the reverse and COS. V. on the face.

³ Zonaras says 300,000, but he adds that Gallienus defeated them with 10,000 men.

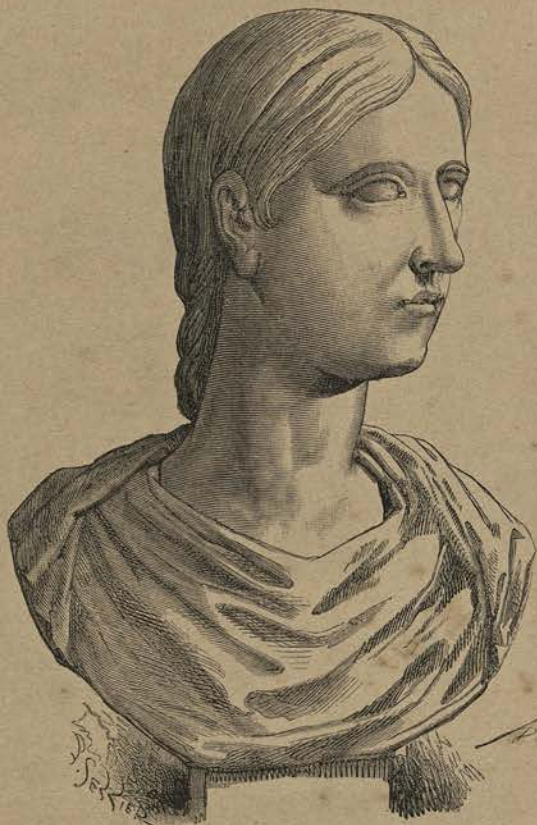
⁴ The empress Salonina, seated, holding a sceptre and an olive branch. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁵ Pipa, notwithstanding the affection of Gallienus, remained only a concubine. There is neither medal nor inscription bearing her name, while Salonina is always called Augusta. On the coins of Gallienus are seen the heads of the husband and wife. There exists a coin of Salonina with the Christian legend, *in pace*. I do not, however, believe that Salonina decisively entered the Church, where she would not have been received without a conspicuous repudiation of heathen rites, and the empress who built a temple to Segetia, the goddess of Harvests, certainly never made that abjuration. But, inquisitive in respect to the ideas current in her

Without doubt an important law of Gallienus is due to the invasion of the Alemanni. The warlike zeal lately shown by the senate disturbed him. A rescript prohibited to the Conscript Fathers military service, and they were forbidden to appear in an army or in a camp.¹ In a preceding chapter we have seen the results of this decision.

The Marcomanni and the Goths, with their allies the Carpæ, the Boranæ, and the Burgundii, inflicted upon Illyria, Macedonia, Thrace, and Greece the woes that the Franks caused Gaul to suffer, and the Alemanni, Italy. All these provinces were desolated by devastations, murders, and a multitude of small combats, of which we know neither the place nor the date,

but in which the generals gained reputation and the selfish affection of a few soldiers, and later the dangerous honour of being elected to the Empire by this soldiery: a formidable favour which was equivalent to a death-sentence with brief respite. One of these generals, Aurelian, was to keep the purple for five years



The Empress Salonina. (Museum of the Capitol.)

time, and troubled by the disasters of the Empire and her own domestic unhappiness, doubtless the friend of Plotinus aspired to the peace which Christianity and the Neoplatonists promised after death. Her husband, who promulgated the first edict of toleration in favour of the Christians, is believed to have given this high testimony to the empress, who perhaps inclined him to benevolence towards the adherents of the new faith. See the *Mémoire* of M. de Witte sur l'impératrice Salonine, 1852.

¹ Aur. Victor, 33; cf. *id.*, 27. From that time forward the *præfectus legionis* took the place of legionary legate.

and to be a great ruler:¹ in a letter of 257 to the urban prefect, Valerian calls him the liberator of Illyria, who has cleared the province of barbarians. For their food these hordes drove along an immense number of cattle; Aurelian took so many from them that he was able to distribute among several Thracian towns a



Roman Auxiliary on Horseback killing an Enemy. (Monument found near Mayence. Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. No. 3.)

great number of oxen and horses. He even sent to Rome for one of Valerian's villas, 500 choice slaves, 2,000 cows, 2,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats.²

As the circle of barbarism which enveloped the Empire was closing in on every side, Asia, as well as Europe, had its invasions.

The garrisons of the Roman posts, established, as we have seen, along the southern shores of the Euxine as far as Sebastopolis,³ at

¹ Another, Valens, who was to be emperor for a very brief time, appears to have compelled the Gauls to raise the siege of Thessalonica. At least, in Amm. Marcellinus (xxi. 16), he has the surname of Thessalonicus.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 10.

³ See vol. v. pp. 25 *et seq.*

the foot of the Caucasus, had been reduced in order to furnish soldiers for the continual revolutions of the Empire, and seditions, which the Antonines would have prevented, placed the kingdom of the Bosphorus at the mercy of its new neighbours.¹ The



Cimmerian Bosphorus: Jewels found in the Tomb of a Priestess of Cybele.²

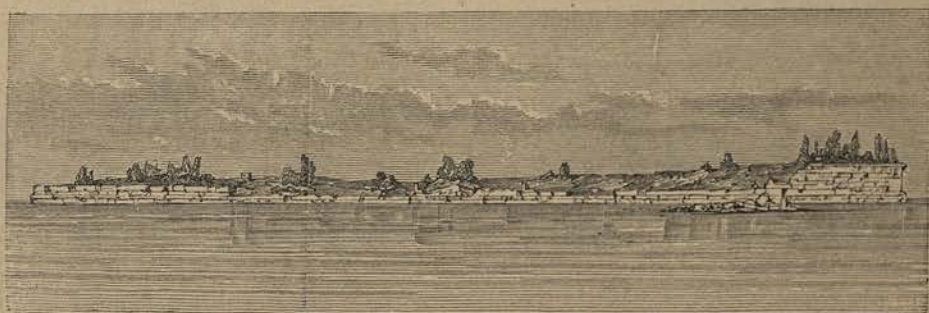
Cimmerians gave up their vessels to the Goths, the Alans, the Heruli, and these extemporized pirates were carried across "the inhospitable sea" by the sailors of the Bosphorus as far as the Asiatic coasts. They seized upon Pityus, and then the great city of Trebizond, in which three centuries of prosperity had

¹ The kings of the Bosphorus put on their coins the effigy of the reigning emperor: Decius, Gallus, Volusianus, Hostilianus, Æmilianus, Gallienus, Odenathus, Probus, and so on. Cf. Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 306, and Cary, *Hist. des rois du Bosph.*, pp. 76-8. But these kings were now at the mercy of the barbarians, their neighbours. Accordingly, a gap of several years in the coins of Rhaseuporis IV. announces the troubles by which a barbarian usurper, Ininthimevus, profited. Phareanses, who seems to have reigned but a short time about the year 253, has also a name of doubtful aspect. A Rhaseuporis VII. reigned from 254 to 266, and probably longer. (*Trésor de numism.*, p. 63.)

² See, vol. ii. p. 804, a pendant found in the same tomb.

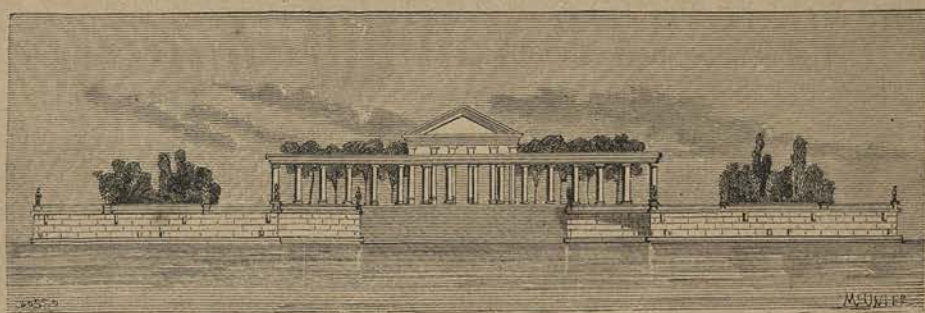
heaped up immense wealth, which a numerous garrison was not able to protect.¹

The rumour of this important capture fired the ardour of the Goths of the Danube. They forced their Roman prisoners to construct boats, in which they sailed along the coast while the



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Present Condition.)

main body of the army of invasion traversed all Thrace undisturbed, and arriving in the neighbourhood of Byzantium found along the shore a great multitude of fishermen, who consented to



Island and Sanctuary of Apollo, in the Rhyndacus.² (Restoration by Guillaume.)

lend their little boats, without doubt for the sake of sharing in the plunder. "From Chalcedon to the temple at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus," there were forces more considerable than those of the barbarians; but the Romans, seized with terror, fled, and the Goths entered Chalcedon, Nicomedia, the future capital of Diocletian, Nicæa, Cius, Apamea, Prusa, and Apollonia,

¹ There were two expeditions: the first, which failed, probably in 255; the second and successful attempt, in 257. (Zosimus, i. 32-3.)

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie Min.*: *Architecture*, pl. 1 and 2.

which its temple of Apollo did not protect, built upon an island in a charming lake formed and traversed by the Rhyndacus. Cyzicus escaped because the invaders could not cross the swollen river. All Bithynia was sacked, and the Roman legions nowhere dared to make a stand against the enemy. The people fled in inexpressible alarm, and many of these unhappy creatures, among whom we are forced to enumerate some of the Christians, took advantage of this immense disorganization to pillage in their turn (early in the year 258). The poor Jacquerie of France in the Middle Ages, yielding in the presence of similar disasters to a savage despair, said: "The devil is unchained; let us do the worst we can." Three centuries later, by the ruins they left behind them, the road the Goths traversed could be made out. "They carried back into their country immense booty," says Zosimus, "and they gave great honours to Chrysogonos, who had advised this expedition."¹

The preceding year Valerian had held at Byzantium a great council of war, in presence of the officers of the palace and of the army. We have the order of precedence in this assembly, and give it to show the new dignities that were coming into existence. At the right of the emperor were seated one of the consuls, the prætorian prefect, and the governor of the East; on his left, the *dux* of the Scythian frontier, the Egyptian prefect, the *dux* of the Oriental frontier, the prefect of the eastern annona, the *duces* of Illyricum and Thrace, and lastly the *dux* of the Rætian border. The foolish chronicler who had the opportunity to read the report of this session does not make known to us the serious deliberations which filled it; he contents himself with saying that Valerian decreed, on this occasion, extraordinary commendation to Aurelian for recent victories in Illyria over Gothic and Sarmatian bands.²

Where was the conqueror of the Franks and Goths at the

¹ Jordanes (*de Gothorum gestis*, 20) says that the Goths burned Ilium and the temple of Diana at Ephesus; he adds that in his time (the sixth century) there were still to be seen at Chalcedon the ruins that they had caused. Zosimus (i. 35) does not say who this Chrysogonos was, but it is apparent that these barbarians were not too barbarous to take advantage of traitors and collect the information necessary to the success of their expeditions.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 15. Valerian gave him at this time not the consulship, as Vopiscus says, but the consular ornaments. Inscriptions and coins prove that Aurelian was consul for the first time in 271. See Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 479.

time of the disasters which have just been described? Doubtless at Antioch with Valerian. This emperor did nothing to prevent or arrest the misfortunes from which Bithynia suffered. He merely sent a general to Byzantium to guard that important point. But the Goths had not as yet formed the design of establishing themselves permanently in the Empire, and their retreat was doubtless caused less by the approach of the emperor, who advanced into Cappadocia, than by the desire to place in safety before the stormy season¹ the booty with which their vessels were loaded, a booty whose magnitude and value surpassed all their expectations.²



Reverse of a Coin
of Valerian, struck at
Antioch, in Caria.³

The Gothic invasion was probably connected with another invasion which seemed likely to drive the Romans out of Asia, that of Sapor. At least we see that the barbarians made their attack first upon the cities where the roads from Armenia came in, of which country the Persians were taking possession, and in occupying Cappadocia Valerian seems to have had the design of placing himself between the two allies.

If it be said that this is ascribing to the barbarians too extensive combinations, we must remember the embassies sent by the Dacians to the Arsacids in the time of Trajan. The Amalae required no great efforts of political intelligence to understand and follow the traditions of Decebalus.⁴

Sapor had assassinated Chosroes,⁵ the king of Armenia, and

¹ The ancients were reluctant to venture upon the Euxine earlier than May or later than September.

² Sozomenus (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 6) and Philostorges (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 5) say that among the captives were priests who converted multitudes of barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. The work of conversion was possibly beginning among the Goths at this period; in 325 a bishop from this nation sat in the council of Nicæa; but in western Germany there were no Christians, before Clovis, among the Franks, whom Sozomenus seems to designate, and the conversion of the Alemanni took place later.

³ ANTIOXEΩN. Bridge over the Meander; underneath, a couchant river and an equestrian statue. (Bronze.)

⁴ Vol. iv. p. 824. Pliny arrested in Bithynia an emissary from Decebalus to Chosroes. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the powerful league of the Marcomanni was formed in 165, shortly after the great successes of Vologeses in Armenia and over the Syrian legions.

⁵ Tiridates, the son of Chosroes, was saved by the satraps and sent to Rome, and, in 287, Diocletian placed him upon the throne of his fathers. (Moses Chorenensis, *Hist. Armeniaca*, ii. 69-75.)

had placed one of his own partisans upon the throne. For more than a quarter of a century this country was like a Persian province, to the great grief of its inhabitants, for the Persians persecuted all those who followed the national customs, destroying all buildings of a sacred character, temples of the Sun and Moon; and the sacred fire of Ormuzd burning upon altars constantly was a reminder of the triumph of a hostile race and a foreign religion. Thus another bulwark of the Empire, and one of its best, was destroyed.

The possession of Armenia by the Persians in fact rendered easy their conquest of Mesopotamia, where Sapor took the fortified towns Nisibis and Carrhæ. The situation, therefore, was very threatening, and the blame of it was due to those who, in less than forty years, had instigated or effected ten military revolutions.



Sapor I.¹

The Romans, remaining masters of Edessa, barred to the Persian army one of the roads into Asia Minor, and the Cilician Gates, without doubt well guarded, at that time closed the other. Sapor, with his inefficient infantry,² was not able to force a passage through the mountains, and he could not hinder a Roman army from coming down into Syria; Valerian, indeed, entered Antioch without fighting. The appearance of the Goths in Bithynia obliged him to return into Asia Minor, "where," says Zosimus, "he did nothing save vex the people as he passed through." The retreat of the barbarians permitted him at last to leave Cappadocia and march upon Edessa, which, for many years blockaded, still held out. But his troops had suffered greatly from pestilence; and a defeat which he experienced, together with the clamours of the army, decided him to negotiate. Sapor refusing to receive envoys from the emperor, the latter requested a personal interview, repeating the error of Crassus. When the astute barbarian saw the emperor come to him weakly protected, he caused Valerian to be

¹ Bust of the king wearing the diadem and placed on a lion's head surmounted by two wings. Intaglio on sardonyx (20 millim. by 18). (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,347.)

² In respect to the Persian infantry, see *Amm. Marcellinus*, xxiii. 6.

seized by the Persian cavalry and made prisoner (260).¹ This captivity lasted six years, accompanied by shameful ill-treatment, and after Valerian's death,² his skin, tanned, stuffed, and coloured red, was hung from the roof of the most important temple in Persia, where it remained for several centuries.³ The rocks of Nakeh-Roustem and of Schahpûr retained the story of this great Roman humiliation, and the horsemen there seen treading legionaries under their horses' feet perhaps gave rise to the legend of Sapor using the Roman emperor as a horse-block to mount by.⁴

Sapor took advantage of the consternation which this event caused in the Roman army to endeavour to seize the Empire as well as the emperor. Guided by the traitor Cyriades, he penetrated into Syria. One day as the inhabitants of Antioch were witnessing a performance in the theatre, one of them cried out suddenly: "I am dreaming or the Persians are upon us!" A few moments later arrows began to fall amongst the crowd, and the city was pitilessly sacked.⁵ Terror again seized upon all these provinces. It was asserted that Emesa had been saved by its divinity.⁶ No doubt the great mass of the Persian forces was in the northern part of the province, and only a detachment, easily to be resisted, was sent to the holy city; or indeed Sapor, through policy, respected a temple venerated by all the nations in this region.

All the attention of the Persians was now turned towards Asia Minor; that being conquered, the rest would fall. They

¹ This is the account given by Zosimus (i. 3). Zonaras speaks of a battle and a defeat. He adds that there was a tradition of a mutiny in the Roman army, which had caused Valerian to seek refuge with Sapor, *πρὸς τὸν Σαπῶρην κατέφυγεν*.

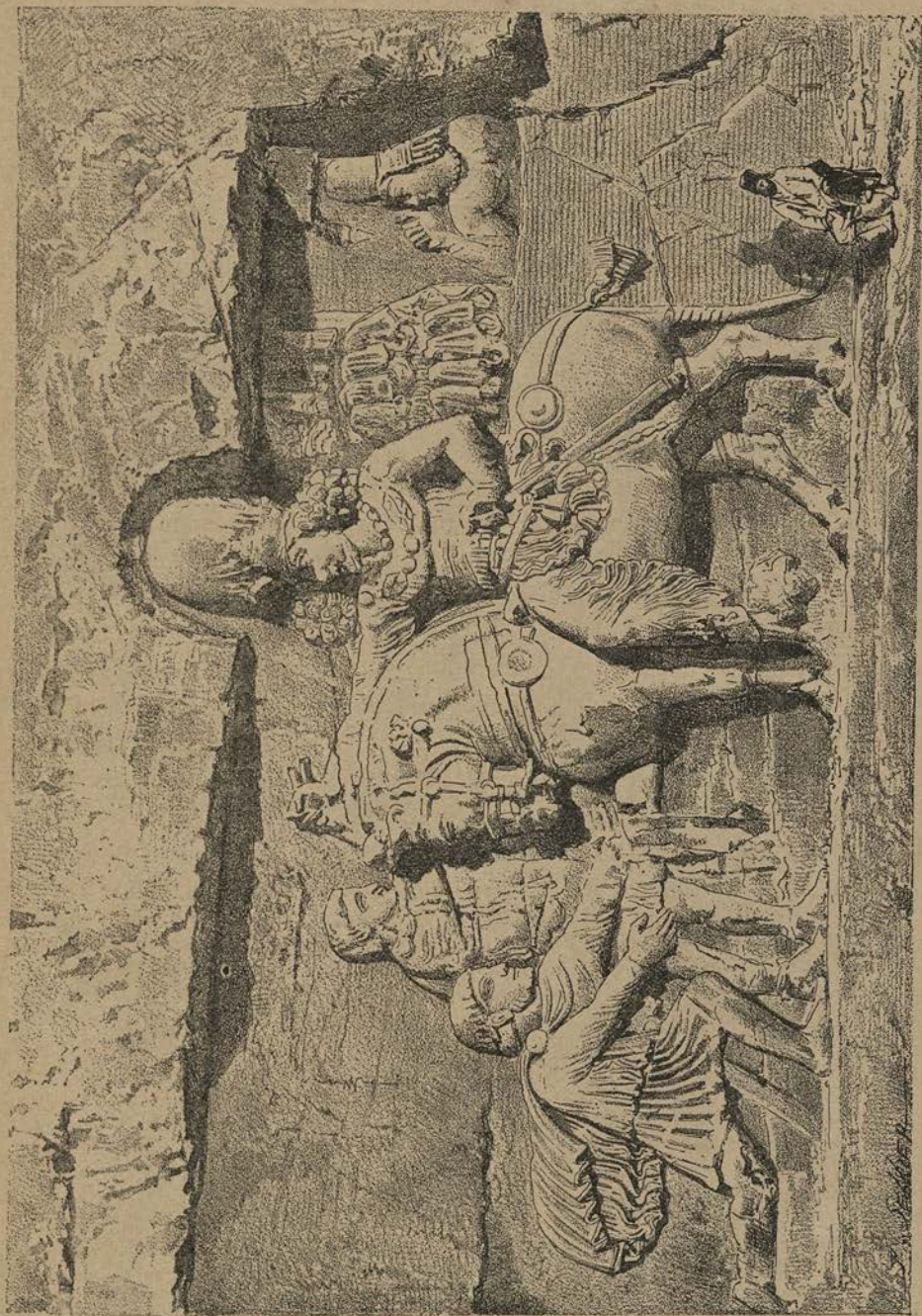
² Agathias even says that he was flayed alive.

³ What is legend and what is truth in this story? It is not easy to say. A letter from Constantine to Sapor II., quoted by Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, iv. 11), and the words of Galerius to Narses, related by Peter Patricius (*Excerpta de Legat.*, in the Byzantine), attest that Valerian certainly suffered the most humiliating of captivities; it lasted, according to the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, until 269. But Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 14) places the death of Valerian before that of Odenathus, consequently in 266: *iratum fuisse reipublicæ Deum credo, qui, interfecto Valeriano, noluit Odenatum reservari*.

⁴ The bas-relief of Darabgerd shows Sapor treading under his horse's feet a prostrate man, on whose head seems to be a fragment of a laurel wreath. (Flandin, *Perse ancienne*, pl. xxxiii.) But this was a symbol of victory much in use among the Persians, and we are not to conclude that this sculpture represents a real action.

⁵ Am. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) places this in the reign of Gallienus, that is, after the captivity of Valerian.

⁶ John Malalas.



Valerian Prostrate before Sapor, who is on Horseback. Bas-relief of Nakeh-Roustem, under the Tombs of the Kings (Environs of Persopolis). (From a Photograph by M. Dieulafoy.)

crossed unopposed the passes of Cilicia, took the great city of Tarsus, and besieged Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia, which is believed to have had at this time a population of 400,000 inhabitants. The city held out for a long time, until a prisoner, being put to the torture, revealed a weak point in the defences, through which the besiegers by night entered the place. They had been ordered to seize the brave Demosthenes who had directed the defence, but he cut his way through on horseback, killing many of the enemy, and made his escape.¹ Two years earlier than this the Persians would have been able from Cappadocia to reach the Goths, masters of Bithynia. But the barbarians of the south had not even need of aid from the barbarians of the north to reach the Propontis and the sea of the Cyclades. Terror went before them. "They might easily," says Zosimus, "have made themselves masters of the whole of Asia, if they had not been in haste to enjoy their victory at home and to carry off their booty."² After their departure the Syrians took revenge upon the traitor Cyriades,³ who had assumed the title of Augustus, and burned him alive.

It is said that when Sapor announced his victory to all the neighbouring or allied nations, the latter, terrified at so great a triumph, concealed their fears under the counsels of philosophic moderation, which they sent back in reply.⁴ The son of Valerian had no need of the consolations of wisdom to appease a grief which he did not feel. "I knew," he said, "that my father was mortal; besides, he has fallen like a brave man," and considering him as already dead, Gallienus apotheosized him. Possibly these words might have been pardoned to a son who had followed them by energetic acts to avenge his father and the Empire; but this feigned stoicism was only unfilial cowardice.

The reign of Valerian is marked by the most cruel persecution that the Church had yet endured. When the pagan inhabitants of the Empire beheld barbarians threatening the very heart of Italy

¹ Zonaras, xii. 23.

² Amm. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) also speaks of this precipitate departure.

³ Or Mariades. Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 192 (Didot).

⁴ These letters must be fabrications, however, for the Persian archives certainly were not open to the writers of the *Augustan History*.

and ravaging two-thirds of the provinces, their anger was turned against this foreign people living among them, indifferent to their griefs, and refusing to take arms against the public enemy. As if entering reluctantly upon the career of persecution, the emperors in their first letters simply forbade the assembling together of Christians and their entrance into cemeteries; they required no one to renounce the worship of Christ, but required all to conform to the Roman cult, which was, however, equivalent to apostasy; and, finally, they as yet punished the contumacious with exile only. The Acts of Cyprian exhibit this first phase of persecution, which does not seem to have struck outside of the clergy.

“In the fourth consulship of the emperor Valerianus and the third of Gallienus, the third day before the kalends of September (30th August, 257), in the audience hall at Carthage, the proconsul Paternus said to the bishop Cyprian: ‘The most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus have deigned to address letters to me, in which they order all persons not professing the Roman religion to observe without delay all its ceremonies. I have therefore summoned you to ascertain your intentions; what answer have you to make?’ The bishop Cyprian replied: ‘I am a Christian and a bishop. I know no other god than the one true God who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is. This God we Christians serve, to Him we pray night and day, for ourselves and for all men, and especially for the safety of the emperors.’ The proconsul said: ‘Do you persist in this resolution?’ The bishop Cyprian replied: ‘The good will that has once known God never changes.’ The proconsul Paternus said: ‘You may prepare then to go into exile in the city of Curubis: so Valerianus and Gallienus command.’ The bishop Cyprian replied: ‘I am ready to go.’ The proconsul Paternus said: ‘The orders which I have received concern not only bishops but also priests. I wish, therefore, to know the names of the priests dwelling in this city.’ The bishop Cyprian replied: ‘Well and wisely have your laws prohibited giving information; I therefore cannot make known to you or give up to you those of whom you speak; you will find them in the cities where they dwell.’ The proconsul Paternus said: ‘It is my will that they appear before me to-day in this place.’ Cyprian answered: ‘The rules of our order forbid

them to surrender themselves, and in this you cannot blame their conduct; but seek for them and you will find them.' The proconsul Paternus said: 'Fear not, I will find them.' And he



Gallienus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 76.)

added: 'The emperors also forbid meetings in any place whatsoever, and the entering of cemeteries. Whoever shall violate this wise prohibition will be punished with death.' The bishop Cyprian: 'Do whatever is commanded you.'"¹

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 477-8, from the preconular reports of the martyrdom of S. Cyprian. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, also suffered exile only into the Libyan desert, three days' journey from Parætonium. (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 11.) Interrogated by the prefect

The successor of Paternus removed the sentence of exile decreed against Cyprian, and suffered him to reside at the gates of Carthage in a house which belonged to the bishop. But the calamities of the Empire increased. Emperors who could not aid themselves believed that they might obtain the assistance of Heaven by avenging their gods. In the middle of the year 258 Valerian sent to the senate the following rescript:

“Bishops, priests, and deacons shall be punished with death; senators, officers, and knights degraded and deprived of their goods. If they persist, death. Women of honourable birth shall be banished. Freedmen of the palace shall be sent as slaves to the emperor’s domains.”¹

We will further give the last interrogation of S. Cyprian, showing the general method of procedure against the martyrs.

“The proconsul Galerius Maximus said to Cyprian: ‘You are Thascius Cyprianus?’ The bishop answered: ‘I am.’ The proconsul said: ‘You are the bishop of these sacrilegious persons?’ ‘I am.’ ‘The most sacred emperors have ordered you to sacrifice to the gods.’ ‘I shall not do so.’ ‘Reflect upon your conduct.’ ‘Do what you are ordered; in a thing so right, I have no occasion to deliberate.’ Galerius Maximus, after taking the advice of his council, expressed himself as follows: ‘You have long held sacrilegious opinions; you have brought many men into this impious conspiracy, thus placing yourselves in hostility towards the gods of Rome and the laws of religion; and the pious and most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, Augusti, and the very illustrious Valerianus Cæsar, have not been able to bring you back to the observance of their religious ceremonies. For this reason you, being the author of the most infamous crimes, and the standard-bearer of the sect, shall serve as an example to those whom you have led astray by your criminal machinations;

of Egypt, he had made S. Paul’s famous reply (*Acts*, v. 29), which Polycrates of Ephesus had also repeated (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 24), and by which the social bond may always be broken: “We must obey God rather than men,” that is to say, a man’s own ideas, which he believes to come from divine revelation or inspiration rather than the common law. In the case of the Christians the state was in the wrong, and their resistance was legitimate, but the formula was dangerous, for it has not always been employed to protect rights of conscience only, which ought to be protected.

¹ S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 82, *ad Successum*. The edict of Valerian is given there.

your blood shall be the sanction of the law.' Having said this, he took his tablets and wrote the sentence which he had uttered aloud: 'We condemn Thascius Cyprianus to be beheaded.' The bishop said: 'God be praised!'"¹ The guards then led him away. Arriving at the place of execution, Cyprian took off his outer garment, knelt and prayed some time. Then he gave his dalmatic to the deacons, bandaged his own eyes, and directed his followers after his death to give to the executioner twenty-five gold pieces.



Pope Sixtus and the Deacon Laurence, on a Gilded Glass from the Catacombs.²

The brethren held strips of cloth around him to collect the martyr's blood. The executioner trembled when he struck the mortal blow. All the pagans must have trembled also when they witnessed these triumphant deaths (14th September, 258).

Cyprian was among the favoured ones: his was the easiest death; others were burned alive, like the bishop of Tarragona, or thrown to the wild beasts. Rome paid largely the debt of blood. Pope Sixtus II. was one of the first to perish. Being surprised in the catacombs while celebrating the holy mysteries, he was

¹ Freppel, *Saint Cyprien*, pp. 490-1, from the proconsular reports.

² Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxvii. No. 2. Upon the legend, PIE ZESES, see above, p. 157.

beheaded; and his deacon S. Laurence was burned at a slow fire. Wherever Christian communities existed, many priests, deacons, believers, and even women, perished. Novatian, who brought into the Church all the severity of his earlier master, the Stoic Zeno, was one of the victims, and possibly also S. Dionysius, who evangelized the north of Gaul, and Polyeuctes, whom Cornille has made famous.¹

The Empire was tearing itself with its own hands, as if for its ruin, famine, pestilence, and the barbarians who seemed to the Christians "to be let loose by God for this day of wrath,"² were not enough.

Gallienus had one merit: he understood that this persecution was unjust as well as useless, and as soon as he was sole master he ordered that their cemeteries, their possessions, and the freedom of their worship should be restored to the Christians (260).³ This was one war the less in the Empire. Unhappily, many others still remained.

At the time when the imprudence of Valerian had given Syria over to the Persians there were in the East two men famous for their military talent: Macrianus, the principal lieutenant of the captive emperor, and Balista, who had formerly held the office of prætorian prefect. They collected the remnant of the army of Edessa, and sought at Samosata, in the narrow angle formed by Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, a retreat which it would be easy to defend.⁴ By slow degrees courage returned to the Romans. Balista reached the coasts of the sea of Cyprus, collected a flotilla on which he embarked a few soldiers, and made successful descents here and there in Cilicia. As the Persians, in the pride of their victory, disdained all prudence, he frequently surprised their detachments and killed many.

But the best assistance came from a side whence the Empire

¹ For details of this persecution, see Tillemont, iii. pp. 415-440. The Acts of the martyrdom of S. Dionysius, compiled in the seventh or eighth century, are not authentic.

² Orosius, vii. 22.

³ Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 13. Gallienus seems to have been a man of gentle temper. A dealer having sold false gems to the Empress Salonina, he condemned him to be eaten by a lion, and let loose against him a capon. Everybody laughed, and the emperor cried: "We have deceived the deceiver!" (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 12.)

⁴ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 193 (Didot).

expected nothing. We have frequently spoken in this history of Palmyra, its riches, its numerous population, and of a family who had taken the first rank there, the Odenathi.¹ The Palmyrenes, for their commerce, had need of the friendship of Sapor. They sent him ambassadors with rich presents to solicit his goodwill. The king threw the gifts into the river, tore up the letters that the envoys had given him, and demanded an absolute submission.² Palmyra had at this time as chief or prince of its senate an able and determined man, very rich and very influential, Septimius Odenathus. In critical periods superior men naturally take their place. Odenathus persuaded his countrymen that there was no answer but war to insults which were a distinct threat against their independence, and he made preparations for it in a suitable manner. The caravans had made Palmyra's fortune. To guide them, the city had been obliged to employ the Arabs of the Syrian desert, who all, from the Orontes to the Pasitigris, were in her interests. Odenathus reminded their sheiks of the destruction of Atrâ, the Arab city, by Sapor; he convinced them that their liberty and their wealth would be lost if the haughty king should drive the Romans out of Asia. The Arab of the present day has two passions, religion and traffic. Mahomet had not yet given them the former, but the latter had been extraordinarily fostered by the profits which the interchange of commodities between the two empires left in the hands of the carriers. They gathered in crowds around the "prince of Palmyra," and we shall see them establish an Arab empire for the first time.



Odenathus, Husband of Zenobia.
(Uncertain.)³

Palmyra had a permanent Roman garrison, and this detachment served as a nucleus for the new army. The Roman fugitives scattered throughout Syria rallied about it, and Odenathus added his Arabs. The successes of Balista had compromised the situation

¹ Vol. v. p. 76, and in the present volume, pp. 81 *et seq.* In April, 258, Odenathus had already received the consular ornaments. (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,602.)

² Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 2.

³ Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 13), No. 1,399.

of the Persians in Syria, their line of retreat was threatened on the south by the armaments of Palmyra and on the north by the garrison of Edessa, which the troops of Samosata had probably



Silver Vase of Persian Workmanship of the Period of the Sassanids.²

joined at this time, and upon this too Roman soil they began to be uneasy. Sapor led them back towards the Euphrates, leaving behind him many of his own troops, surprised by a sudden attack of Odenathus. Arriving on the right bank of the river the Persians congratulated one another, believing they were safe; but they were obliged still further, says Zonaras, to buy their passage, by giving up to the army of Edessa all that was left to them of Syrian gold.¹ In these deserts avalanches of men appeared. Drawn by the lure of carnage and booty, the nomads rushed thither from all quarters of the horizon, and powerful armies emerged from the waste. Odenathus, whom Balista had now joined, found himself strong enough to undertake the conquest of Mesopotamia, and to venture on following in the track of

Trajan and Septimius Severus³ as far as Ctesiphon itself. In a battle he captured part of the treasures and some of the wives of Sapor. This was the sharp reply of the Palmyrenes to the great king.

¹ Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de Legat.*, 10.

² *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,880. This monument of Persian art, under the Sassanids, is ornamented with two groups of lions, separated by the sacred tree, *Hom.* The figures are in *repoussé* on a gold ground. This vase had a handle, which is now missing. Cf. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 467, and Lenormant, in vol. iii. of the *Musée d'archéol.* of Fathers Martin and Cahier.

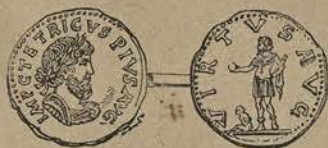
³ Eutropius, ix. 10, 11; Malalas, xii. p. 227; Zonaras, xii. 23.

Odenathus had not been able to set Valerian at liberty, but he sent captive satraps to Rome, and Gallienus, forgetting his father, celebrated with a triumph this victory which the legions had permitted the Bedouins to gain for them.

From this expedition Odenathus returned too great to remain longer a private individual. The Arabs proclaimed him king, and Gallienus, to attach to himself so useful a servant, appointed him chief of the imperial forces in that part of the East, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, or *imperator* (beginning of 262). Later, after further services, he gave Odenathus the title of Augustus, and the son of the clients of Severus took rank among the emperors of Rome.¹

III.—THE PROVINCIAL EMPERORS (249–268); GALLIENUS.

Those who have been called, in imitation of Athens, the Thirty Tyrants, were neither thirty nor tyrants. From the captivity of Valerian to the death of his son, we count eighteen generals who were proclaimed emperor² by their troops, as had been all since the Antonines, and they lacked only success to take their place legally among the masters of the Roman world. One only, Calpurnius Piso, was of the highest rank;⁴ another, Tetricus, of senatorial dignity; the rest of obscure origin. Moreover these so-called usurpers were neither worse nor better than the emperors raised to the official list; many manifested ability and did service; all finally were as legitimate as



Coin of Tetricus.³

¹ M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. sémi.*, pp. 29 *et seq.*) does not believe that Odenathus ever had the title of Augustus. But, as M. Waddington remarks (*Inscr. de Syrie*, p. 601), "at Palmyra it was not of particular importance to translate exactly the names of Roman dignities," and as Zenobia is called in an inscription *σεβαστή*, or *Augusta*, it would appear that this title was given her as widow of a *σεβαστός*.

² We shall have twenty-nine Cæsars, or Augusti, murdered in less than twelve years if we include sons of emperors to whom their fathers gave the purple.

³ IMP. C. TETRICVS PIVS AVG. and the laurelled head of the emperor. On the reverse: VIRTVS AVG.; Tetricus, in a military costume, standing; at his feet a captive. (Gold coin in the British Museum. Cf. de Witte, *op. laud.* TETRICUS the Elder, pl. xl. No. 162.)

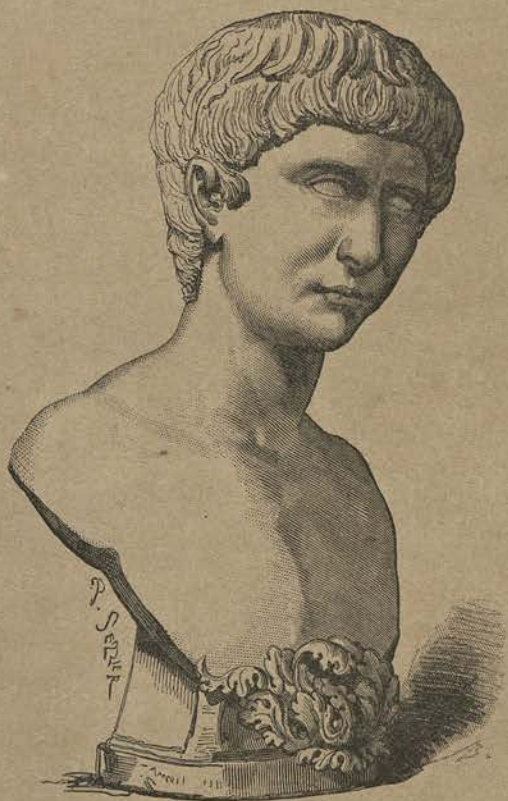
⁴ At least, he was so considered, but it cannot be proved that he was of that illustrious family of Pisos whom Horace calls *Pompilius sanguis* (*Ars poet.*, 292), because they claimed descent from Numa. Nor is it even certain that Piso assumed the purple.

was Septimius Severus. The Empire, that is to say, union for the common defence, seemed no longer to exist, since one of the emperors was captive in Ctesiphon, the other wholly lost in pleasure, and the barbarians overrunning the provinces at their will. Under stress of necessity, patriotism re-awakened, and since nothing could be expected



Coin of Pacatianus, Emperor in Pannonia or in Rhaetia.¹

from Rome, men looked to themselves for their preservation. The legions formed the permanent garrison of the provinces, and remained very long in the same places, for example, the Third Augustan occupied Numidia for three centuries. From this resulted intimate relations between the army and the country. The soldier married there, the legion was recruited thence, and the troops borrowed the manners and beliefs of the region in which they lived. We have had occasion more than once to show that the differences between the armies of Gaul and of Syria corresponded to the differences between the two countries. By degrees



Young Roman, supposed to be Saloninus. (Marble of the Museum of the Louvre.)

these multiplied bonds had made the legionaries, as it were, the representatives of those whom it was their duty to protect, and during the eclipse of the universal Empire the provincial interest

¹ IMP. TI. CL. MAR. PACATIANUS AUG. and the radiate head of the provincial emperor. On the reverse: ROMAE AETERN. AN(=no) MILL(esimo) ET PRIMO (the year 1001 of Rome, 248 A.D.); in the centre, Rome seated. (Silver coin.)

personified itself in provincial emperors. Almost simultaneously Gaul, Illyria, Moesia, Pannonia, Greece, and Thessaly proclaimed



Triumphal Arch of Gallienus at Rome.

their respective governors, and the provinces were so much in sympathy with the soldiers that they shared their fortunes. In a province where Gallienus had been able to overthrow one of

his rivals, civilians suffered as much as soldiers; the legions were decimated, but the cities were as full of carnage as were the camps.¹

The most remarkable of these emperors is Postumus.² He was a man of low condition,³ but of great courage, and extremely popular in the Gallic provinces where he was born, and of which he had been the protector. When Gallienus quitted the country in 258 he left his son Saloninus at Cologne, with the title of Cæsar, under the care not of Postumus, the governor of Gaul, but under that of the tribune Silvanus, and Postumus was wounded at this mark of distrust. On one occasion, when the latter had divided among the troops a rich booty recaptured from the Franks, Silvanus claimed the spoils as



Saloninus Cæsar.
(Bronze Medallion.)

belonging to the Cæsar. When Postumus made known this order, the soldiers, rather than give back what they had received, tore from their standards the effigies of Gallienus and Saloninus, and proclaimed their general (258). He led them to Cologne, obtained the surrender, after a long siege, of the Cæsar and his adviser, and put them both to death.⁴ The nations and armies of the Gallic provinces, Britain, and Spain took oath to the new Augustus.⁵ It was not the establishment of a Gallic, Spanish, or British Empire: no one at this time thought of breaking with Rome;

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 8. This awakening of provincial patriotism is manifested by two things: many cities, in Gaul, for example, abandon in the third century their Roman name to take that of their own people, and when the emperors dismember a former government to form new provinces, they usually give the latter the limits that these territories had in the time of their independence.

² M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus (*C. I. L.*, ii. No. 4,943).

³ *Obscurissime natus* (Eutrop., ix. 9).

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 391 and 438) places the surrender of Cologne in 259. The *Augustan History* (*Tyr. trig.*, 3) represents Postumus as having a son whom Valerian had appointed tribune of the Vocontii, and whom his father had taken as colleague; but, although we possess a great quantity of medals of Postumus, no one of them gives us ground to believe that this son, who had only literary tastes, was made Cæsar and afterwards Augustus, and the adoption of Victorinus confirms these doubts. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 447, and de Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. iv. 1859.)

⁵ Bréquigny, *Hist. de Post.*, p. 356, in vol. xxx. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* This opinion rests, it is true, upon two doubtful readings of legends on coins, which appear to belong to another period; but probability favours it. (Eckhel, vol. vii. 442.)

it was only breaking with Gallienus, and for protection uniting together under a famous soldier. Trèves was his capital; here he gathered a senate which decreed him all the titles attributed to emperors on the banks of the Tiber; but, upon his coins, the sole history of him which we have,¹ he preserved the image of the Eternal City, *Roma Aeterna*.



Coin of Postumus, bearing on the Reverse, Rome Eternal.²

Under the purple he kept his military tunic. He prevented the Alemanni from entering Gaul, drove back the Franks by constructing on the right bank of the Rhine strong forts commanding the fords, and his fleet freed the British waters from Saxon pirates. On one of his medals, *Neptuno reduci* indicates that he led this expedition in person;³ another attests his efforts to free from pestilence the troops and the provinces.⁴ Successes of which we know nothing gave him those imperial salutations unknown on coins since the time of Caracalla, and the surname *Germanicus Maximus*.⁵ Coins of the year 262 give him these titles for the fifth time, and represent, some of them, a Victory crowning the Gallic emperor, and others a trophy raised between two prostrate captives. After making his power felt among the Franks he sought to draw them into an alliance; an auxiliary corps which he recruited among them gave him soldiers and also a pledge of the fidelity of these people.



NEPTUNO REDUCI. (Reverse of a Coin of Copper Alloy of Postumus.)

The usurper therefore fulfilled all the duties of a legitimate prince; security reigned in the provinces, and commerce re-appeared

¹ M. de Witte has collected them in a learned volume. The senate of Postumus, like the Roman senate, struck bronze coins with the stamp SC.

² Gold coin, in an open setting and loop. Cf. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii. No. 265.

³ Mionnet, ii. 61, 68.

⁴ *Salus exercitus* (*ibid.*, 64).

⁵ The figure V. following this title appears to Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 439) to signify a fifth victory gained over the Germans. Another coin confirming this one bears IMP. V.

on the roads and rivers.¹ To show whence came this security, Postumus caused the Rhine to be represented tranquilly leaning upon his urn, with the symbols of peace, an anchor, a reed, and following with his gaze the peaceful current of his stream. The legend was expressive. *Salus provinciarum.*²



The Rhine.³

In 262 Postumus celebrated the fifth year of his reign. Originally this solemnity had occurred only at the decennalia; but at the period of which we write a ruler esteemed himself fortunate if he had lived half that time, and five years was the *grande ævi spatium* which an emperor rarely exceeded.

Another distinguished general, Ingenuus, had been made emperor by the troops of Pannonia (258),⁴ and the population of that province had pronounced with ardour in favour of the man who had many times repulsed or driven into the Danube the Goths and Sarmatians. Gallienus, however, defeated him near Mursa by a skilful manœuvre of one of the imperial lieutenants, Aureolus, who with a furious cavalry charge broke the enemy's line. Ingenuus killed himself, or caused his attendant to kill him. The province was deluged with blood;⁵ it remembered this cruelty, and we shall see that Pannonia soon made a new emperor, Regalianus.



Coin of Macrianus.⁶

For the moment Gallienus, conqueror of the rebels of Pannonia and also of the Alemanni whom he had just now driven out of Italy, seemed in a position to wage successful war with

¹ This is probably the meaning of the two medals which bear the unusual legends: *Mercurio felici* and *Minerva faulrix*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 445.)

² The bronzes of Postumus are very defective, but his gold pieces equal the finest of the preceding emperors, and his silver coins still contain a little pure metal, while those of Gallienus have none whatever. To judge by the pieces found in collections of buried money of this date, it appears that Gallic coin was not received in Italy nor the coins of Gallienus in Gaul. (Mommson, *Hist. de la Monn. rom.*, vol. ii. p. 124.)

³ The Rhine seated, leaning upon an urn and laying one hand on a vessel. Reverse of a copper coin of Postumus, with the legend: *SALVS PROVINCIA RUM*.

⁴ Cf. *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194 (Didot). It is possible that this revolt of Ingenuus was anterior to the Alemannic invasion of Italy.

⁵ IMP. C. FVL. MACRIANVS P. F. AVG. Radiate head of the emperor. On the reverse: *MARTI PROPVGNATORI* and the god Mars. (Coin of copper alloy.)

⁶ See the letter of Gallienus to Verianus Celer. (Trebellianus Pollio, *Ingenuus*.)

Postumus; but bad news came from Asia; Valerian was a captive, and Balista had induced Macrianus to assume the purple. This Macrianus,¹ a soldier of fortune, had risen from the lowest ranks in the army to the first positions of the state. His marriage and the liberality of Valerian, who trusted him, had made him rich enough to be able out of his private fortune to pay on the spot the *donativum* to the troops. He is represented by ecclesiastical writers as having employed magical arts to induce Valerian to undertake the great persecution of 258. The emperor was impelled thereto by reasons no more valid, but in his eyes more serious. Pagan authors, on their part, reproach him with having urged his master to that fatal conference whence the emperor never returned. These accusations, which emerge from obscurity, should be left there. Moreover, this man is not important, and his reign was very brief. He required, as a condition of accepting the Empire, that his two sons, Macrianus and Quietus, should be made Augusti. Egypt acknowledged him (260 or 261).



The Younger
Macrianus. (Gold
Coin.)



Quietus. (Medium
Bronze.)

Through the energy of Odenathus the East was delivered from the Persians; but it was needful to restore tranquillity to men's minds, discipline to the army, and a sense of security to the population. The task was one which might occupy a ruler during many years. Macrianus never thought of it at all; his design was to extend his power rather than to consolidate it. Leaving Quietus and Balista in Asia, he crossed over into Europe with his other son, Macrianus, and 30,000 men to overthrow Gallienus. He sent before him one of his generals, Piso, who was to rid him of Valens, the proconsul of Achaia, whose talents the newly-made emperor dreaded. Valens, feeling himself menaced, assumed the purple in Greece: it is said that Piso did the same in Thessaly,² where he took refuge; but these two aspirants had but few troops, and probably but little money, and they were to be placed between

¹ Fulvius Macrianus. See in Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 12) the curious appeal of Balista to Macrianus.

² The eulogium upon Piso, pronounced by the prince of the senate, and the *senatus-consultum* which decreed him a triumphal statue (Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20), prevent us from believing that Piso assumed the purple.

the two immense armies of Macrianus and Gallienus; their soldiers, therefore, killed them.¹

Aureolus had been rewarded for his services in defeating Ingenuus by the post of Master of the Cavalry and the government of the Illyrian provinces. He was the son of a Dacian shepherd: a new proof that the highest grades were recruited from a very low stratum. Being sent to arrest the Syrian invasion, he was easily successful; a part of the army came over to him, and Macrianus perished with his son.² Thus the situation became simpler.



The Temple of Ephesus.⁴

At the news of this success, Odenathus besieged in Emesa Quietus, the second son of Macrianus, put him to death, and shortly after caused the assassination of Balista, the only man who could be an obstacle to himself.³ The Palmyrene remained sole master of the Roman East, and Gallienus and Postumus divided between them the West.

These domestic strifes were not adapted to arrest the incursions of the Goths and Sarmatians in Thrace and Asia. On the coast of Asia Minor they burned the famous temple of Ephesus, which, with its twenty-seven columns of precious marble, each sixty feet high, the sculptures of Scopas, and the gifts of kings and nations heaped up within its walls, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world.⁵ In Mœsia they took Nicopolis, which had arrested the advance of Kniva, and in Macedon they besieged Thessalonica, the key to that province. Their bands, increased by escaped slaves, many of whom were of barbaric origin, went as far as Greece, where they found small plunder and many mountains, which

¹ It is possible that Piso was killed by the emissaries or by the troops of Valens, who assumed the surname of *Thessalicus*. (*Ibid.*)

² In the ninth year of the reign of Gallienus, that is to say, before the 29th of August, 262, probably at the close of 261.

³ According to other accounts, Odenathus spared Balista, who lived in retirement on an estate which he possessed near Daphne.

⁴ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. The statue of Diana within the temple. (Reverse of a large bronze of Hadrian.)

⁵ The temple was 425 feet long and 220 wide. (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxvi. 21.) The Roman foot was 11·655 inches. [Cf. now the remarkable explorations and restoration of this temple in Mr. Wood's *Ephesus*.—*Ed.*]

rendered resistance easy, and they appear to have suffered a defeat there.¹ Jordanes speaks of the childish delight of the Goths when they found themselves at the foot of the Balkans, near the hot springs of Anchialos (262-3).²

Byzantium, the bulwark of the Empire in these regions, had a numerous garrison, which, without doubt on account of some delay in receiving pay, revolted and pillaged the city. Gallienus hastened thither, and, as his custom was, showed himself very severe in his punishment. He remained there some months to intimidate the barbarians who had reappeared in Cappadocia, and to restore the provinces to order, rebuilding the fortifications of many of the cities. At the same time he carried on negotiations with Odenathus, which resulted in his accepting the Arab chief as his colleague in the Empire (264). On his return to Rome he celebrated with all the magnificence that the precarious state of his finances permitted the tenth year of his sad reign.



Reverse of a Coin of Gallienus.³

In the spring of 264 he at last prepared to avenge his son and recover the Gallic provinces.⁴ It is said⁵ that he proposed to Postumus to decide their quarrel by single combat; to which the Gallic emperor replied that he was not a gladiator. Aureolus commanded the troops of Gallienus; he either would not, or could not, take advantage of a victory of some importance to overwhelm Postumus, and the war was protracted. Notwithstanding the defection of a general of the Italian Cæsar, Victorinus,⁶ who with several legions went over to the side of the Gallic Cæsar, and was by the latter associated with himself in the imperial power (265),⁷



Victorinus wearing the Radiate Crown. (Coin of Copper Alloy.)

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 5.

² The *aquæ calidæ* were fifteen miles to the north of this city, which stood on the shore of the Black Sea, and they had a great reputation, *inter reliqua totius mundi thermorum innumerabilium loca omnino præcipue ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissima* (Jordanes, 20).

³ LEG. XXX. VLP(ia) VIP (*sextum pia*) VI F (*sextum fidelis*). Neptune standing. (Copper alloy.)

⁴ Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 238) believes that there had been hostilities between Gallienus and Postumus since the year 260.

⁵ *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 194.

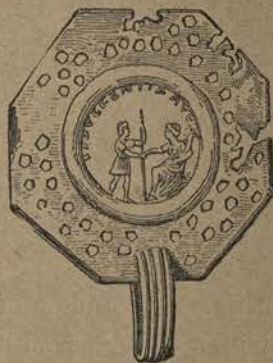
⁶ At least the coins of Victorinus bear the names of legions that are known to have been in the army of Gallienus. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 402 and 451.)

⁷ This is the well-authorized opinion of M. de Witte, *Revue de num.*, new series, vol. vi. 1861.

Postumus was obliged to take refuge in a fortified town, where the imperial troops besieged him. Gallienus was wounded with an arrow during the siege, and the wound, together with his disgust at the prolonged duration of the war, decided him to leave his expedition incomplete. He came back into Italy, leaving Aureolus to guard the Alpine passes, a precaution which proves that the expedition into Gaul had not ended well.



Victorinus crowned with Laurel.¹



Reverse of a Gold Coin of Victorinus.²

Postumus, however, half victorious, half vanquished, lost in this war the prestige he had obtained in his successful encounters with the barbarians.

A competitor, Lælianus,³ appeared against him; he defeated this general, but having refused his troops the pillage of Mayence, the principal seat of the rebellion, a tumult broke out, in which he and his son were killed (267). The Germans took advantage of these disturbances to recommence their predatory expeditions, and burned several Gallic cities.



Lælianus crowned with Laurel. (Gold Coin.)

Lælianus, respited by the death of Postumus, obtained some advantages over them, attested by his coins,⁴ and rebuilt the forts on the right bank which they had destroyed. The soldiers, disgusted by the labours which he required of them, murdered him.

Victorinus had doubtless instigated this tragedy, which relieved him from a competitor; but another immediately came forward, Marius, formerly a blacksmith. The *Augustan History* assigns to

¹ Gold medallion in an open setting. (Collection of the Hague; J. de Witte, *Recherches*, etc., pl. xxvi. No. 24.)

² INDVLGENTIA AVG(usta). The emperor standing, assisting a kneeling figure to rise.

³ *Revue de num.*, vol. iv. 1859.

⁴ Cohen, v. 60. One coin of Lælianus represents Spain, where he certainly never was in command, but he included it in his government. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 449.)

this person only three days' reign, in order to say that on the first day he was made emperor, on the second he reigned, and on the third he was dethroned. It is probable, however, that the time was somewhat longer; an old comrade whose hand he would not touch, struck him with a sword which, as the story went, they had forged together.¹

Coin of Marius.²

The former colleague of Postumus, Victorinus,³ had remained during these catastrophes the emperor of the Gallic provinces. He was born of a rich family, and one of his kindred, Tetricus, governed Aquitaine. These ties of relationship consolidated his power, making him a national ruler in the eyes of the Gauls; and he appeared so formidable to Gallienus that the latter, instead of attacking him in Gaul, feared lest he should come to seek the empire of Italy as well. But habits of the grossest debauchery tarnished the merits of Victorinus, and he was assassinated at Cologne by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged (268).⁵

The Emperor Marius.⁴

The true ruler during this reign had been Victorina, the

¹ We have coins and inscriptions of his which compel us to believe that his reign was not so short. De Boze (*Mém. de l'acad.*, xxvi. 512) gives him a reign of four or five months, from September or October, 267, to January or February, 268.

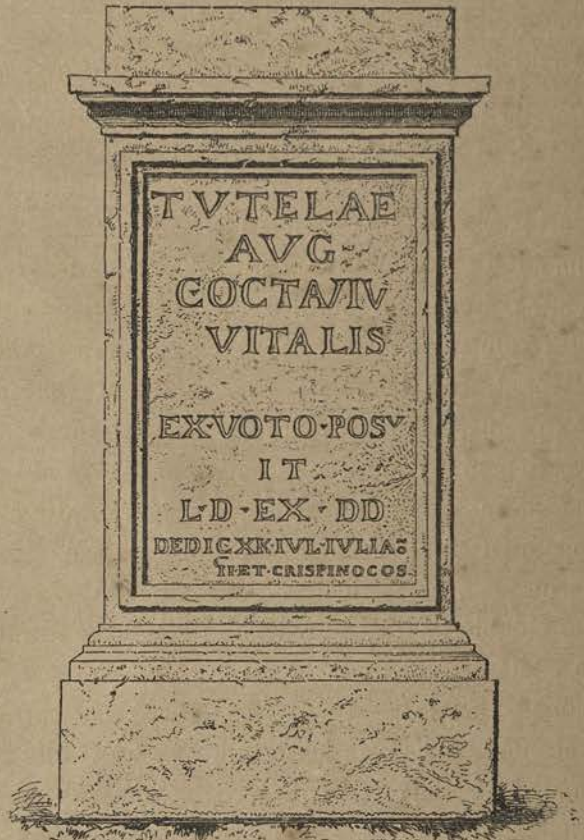
² IMP. C. MARIVS AVG., around the radiate head of the Gallic emperor. On the reverse, SAEC(uli) FELICITAS, and Felicity standing. (Coin of copper alloy.)

³ Marcus Piavonius Victorinus (Or.-Henzen, No. 5,548; Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 450).

⁴ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (20 millimètres by 17), No. 2,105 of the Catalogue.

⁵ In the beginning of this year, and again in March, the senate begs Claudius to overthrow Tetricus. Coins of Victorinus have lately been found in England.

emperor's mother, a woman of masculine courage, the Zenobia of the West, who, by her largesses, exercised great influence over the army. The soldiers called her the "mother of the camps," and a medal (the authenticity, however, is doubtful) gives her the title of empress. If she did not take it, she at least disposed of it, causing the army to acknowledge Tetricus her kinsman,¹ a prudent man, whose shoulders the purple galled, and who wished to keep at a distance from camps, where rulers were made and unmade so quickly. He established himself at Bordeaux under the protection of the goddess Tutela; and we leave him, therefore, tranquilly awaiting Aurelian and the termination of an imperial power which he had not desired.



Altar of Tutela found at Bordeaux.²

A Dacian, Regalianus, believed to be a descendant of the famous Decebalus, had the government of Pannonia and Moesia. He had shown himself an able general, and could boast of several victories over the Sarmatians. This was enough to determine soldiers and provincials to make emperor a man who gave to the former booty and to the latter security, especially while the memory of

¹ C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus (Borghesi, vol. vii. page 430, n. 4). He was proclaimed at Bordeaux before March, 268. De Witte, *Revue de numism.*, vol. vi. 1861, and *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules au troisième siècle*.

² This pedestal doubtless bore a statue of Tutela; the personified protecting power of the gods, a divinity much honoured at Bordeaux. The inscription is of the year 224. Cf. Ch. Robert, *Culte de Tutela*, in the *Memoires de la Soc. arch. de Bordeaux*.

the cruelties of Gallienus in that province were still fresh in the minds of all. Regalianus was therefore invested with the purple. This was a reconstruction of the Pannonian kingdom, after the manner in which the Gallic and Oriental kingdoms had been re-established, and for the same reasons, namely, the defence of the territory committed to the worthiest, because the official emperor failed to make it secure. Regalianus came to a violent end, according to some, by a revolt among his own people;¹ according to others by an attack from Gallienus.

Coin of Regalianus.²

Seeing the Empire thus parcelled out, there was no man too insignificant not to desire to have his share. Of Antoninus, Memor, and Cæcrops, we know only the names; of Saturninus we have only this saying to his soldiers: "Comrades, you lose a good general, and you make a worthless emperor;" of Celsus, this anecdote, that his partisans not finding the purple mantle indispensable for the consecration of an emperor, covered him with the robe of the *dea cælestis* of Carthage. The great goddess was scandalized no doubt at this impiety, for he was killed almost immediately. His body was thrown to the dogs, which devoured it, and his picture nailed to the cross on which criminals suffered, that the infamy of this unfortunate man might be made eternal who had reigned seven days.

Æmilianus Laurelléd.
(Large Bronze.)

Æmilianus, on the banks of the Nile, enjoyed his ephemeral dignity a little while longer, until Gallienus, who had need of the Egyptian wheat, sent against him Theodotus, whose services and fidelity had already been proved in Gaul. Being defeated and taken prisoner, Æmilianus was strangled in his dungeon. Still further among the number of usurpers we find one Trebellianus, a chief of those Isaurian mountaineers whom Rome had never civilized or disciplined. A bandit by trade, a pirate, he took

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 10.

² IMP. C. P. C. REGALIANVS AVG.; radiate head of Regalianus. On the reverse: LIBER(a)L(it)AS AVG.; Liberty standing, holding a freedman's cap and a sceptre. (Silver coin.)

advantage of the universal disorganization to extend his predatory expeditions. A brother of Theodotus defeated and slew him. This is the perpetually recurring termination of all these

narratives. Local patriotism was keen enough for men to yield to the desire of having a national chief; it was not persevering enough long to support these provincial emperors, who, owing their elevation to disorder and public calamity, became in their turn its victims. Revolts continued because they had begun, and men killed because they had killed.

One alone of these *parvenus* so quickly overthrown interests us—the king of Palmyra, founder of a half Arab state, who, if he could have established his power, would have



Æmilianus before his Accession (Probable).¹

changed the face of the East. For this, it was needful that Odenathus should live, but, like all the rest, he was assassinated. We shall again refer to this murder and to this kingdom in the history of Aurelian.

What was Gallienus doing in the midst of these catastrophes? One of the old authors loads him with all maledictions;² another represents him working diligently to overcome the public misfortunes.³

¹ Bust of the Museum of Lyons. (Comarmond, *Deser. des Antiques*, etc., pl. 9, No. 152.)

² Treb. Pollio, in the *Augustan History*. This author wrote in the time of the Cæsar Constantius, a descendant of Claudius II. (*Gall.*, 14), and Claudius caused the murder of Gallienus. Pollio, therefore, regarded Gallienus as a criminal.

³ Zosimus, i. 30-45.

When news came of the defection of the Gauls and of Egypt, Pollio represents him as saying: "Can we not live, then, without Egyptian linen and tapestry?" At the same time, he was not destitute of courage; he loved poetry, eloquence, the arts; and he was on the point of giving Plotinus, at the request of the empress Salonina, a district in Campania (to be called Platonopolis), that the philosopher might try the experiment of Plato's Republic. But of what value are these mental endowments, the splendid and beautiful adornment of more prosperous reigns? At such a time as this the Empire needed, not a maker of Greek and Latin verses, but a soldier. Gallienus might have reigned as Aurelian, Probus, and Diocletian were to reign. If he did not do this, it was because of his incapacity, and we may leave him with his poor reputation.

In 267, Aureolus, once a Dacian shepherd,¹ but a brave soldier, the conqueror of Macrianus in Thrace, and the adversary of Postumus in Gaul, was left to guard with an army the passes of the western Alps against Victorinus, while Gallienus went to drive out of Illyria the barbarians who had unexpectedly appeared there. These invaders came from afar; from the sea of Azof had come 500 vessels, in which no strength was wasted, for they carried a multitude of warriors,² who at sea were rowers and on land were fighting men. They crossed the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, killing and pillaging. When Mithridates besieged Cyzicus, four centuries earlier, that city had three arsenals filled with weapons, grain, machines of war, and, in its harbour, 200 galleys. Notwithstanding the many formidable warnings given these populations within the last thirty years, the Goths found no preparations for defence. They pillaged the city, and Lemnos and Scyros shared the same fate. The Peloponnesus and Epirus were ravaged, and one of their bands surprised Athens, whence the population fled. A monk of the twelfth century relates that the Goths having collected in a heap all the books found in the city, were about to give to the flames these products of a

¹ Zonaras, xii. 24.

² Gibbon says 15,000, taking for authority a text of Strabo, which allows from twenty-five to thirty men as a crew for the vessels of the Euxine. But we have no proof that, three centuries later than Strabo, these vessels were no larger.

civilization which they despised, when one of their chiefs deterred them: "Let us leave to the Greeks," he said, "these books which render them so effeminate and unwarlike." Montaigne¹ repeats this whim of the monk, and Rousseau quotes it after him. An Athenian, however, proved to them that a man could be both a scholar and a soldier: Cleodemos, says Zonaras, rallied the fugitives, armed a few vessels, and killed a great number of marauders; the rest fled.² Zonaras is wrong as to the author of this bold stroke: the last of the Athenian heroes was the historian Dexippos. The city having been taken by surprise, 2,000 Athenians took shelter on a wooded hill, and there resisted all attacks. Other Greeks gathered in this "camp of refuge;" successful sorties were made, and some imperial galleys coming up, destroyed the vessels of the barbarians. The latter were unmindful of the disaster, and made their way overland to their companions, who were pillaging the Peloponnesus and Bœotia; they entered Acarnania by way of Epirus, and formed the bold designs of returning home through Illyricum. This was the invasion which Gallienus set out to repel. He destroyed some of their bands, bought over others, and made one of their chiefs consul. We are tempted to believe that he put the consular toga upon the shoulders of this Herulan with the same feelings that we experience in giving a plumed hat to some negro king on the African coast. But the son-in-law of the Marcomanni, who was so much under the influence of Pipa, his young barbaric wife,³ wished to give this ceremony all possible official grandeur, and the fact is more important than it at first appears. We know already that the barbarians, admitted into the auxiliary troops, and then made citizens, now filled the legions. We now see them pass, without change, from barbarism to the consulship. The invasion was going on in the lower ranks; it will be seen also in the upper,⁴ and in consequence of this slow but continuous infiltration it was really completed on the day

¹ *Essais*, i. 24. This was the classic souvenir of the words quoted by Cicero in the *De Senectute*, 13, in speaking of the doctrines of Epicurus.

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ . . . *quam is perdit dilexerit*. To please her he covered his black locks with gold powder, and would have his friends do the same. *Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit* (Trebell. Pollio, *Salon. Gall.*, 3).

⁴ See, p. 372, what lieutenants Valerian gave to Aurelian.

when it appears to begin with the furious attack of 405. For this reason all will go on declining for two centuries in this empire, still Roman on the surface, but in reality more and more permeated every day with Germanic elements.¹

While Gallienus was fighting in Illyria, Aureolus found the occasion propitious to stir up revolt in Italy and seize upon Rome. The emperor defeated him at Pontirolo (Pons Aureoli) upon the Adda, and held him besieged in Milan. But in the imperial camp, Aurelianus, Heraclius, and Claudius, the most important generals in the army, conspired against the violent and feeble ruler under whom the Empire had fallen so low. One day, when at the news of a sortie attempted by Aureolus, Gallienus had flung himself unarmed upon a horse, a conspirator pierced him with an arrow (March 22, 268). His brother Valerianus was also killed; this young man was of amiable character and brilliant talents, and dying at an age when many hopes centred in him, left a much-loved memory. Claudius had ordered his death for reasons of state; but he erected to him a monument on which these words were engraven, wherein we seem to read a half-stifled regret: *Valerianus, imperator*.²

We have had opportunity to remark that the entire defence in this reign stops at the Danube and the Rhine; this signifies that the Decumatian lands and Dacia, where the early Empire kept barbarism in check, were lost.³ Nor were the Roman troops able any longer to guard the line of the two rivers, which armed bands incessantly crossed in the intervals of the great invasions, so that disquietude prevailed everywhere. It was a condition similar to that of France at the time of the Norman incursions. Consequently (as later was done in the beginning of feudal times and

¹ A medal of this year commemorates a naval victory over the Goths, who, returning from Asia laden with spoils, were scattered by a tempest upon the Euxine and later by a Roman flotilla. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 394, and Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 12.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Valeriani duo*, 8. He was the son of Valerian's second wife. Eckhel (vol. vii. pp. 427-435) believes that he was neither Cæsar nor Augustus, notwithstanding the positive assertion of Trebellius Pollio. The word *imperator* would be then merely the military title; but this title had for many years been given only to sovereigns. Zonaras says that a second son of Gallienus was put to death by order of the senate.

³ Aur. Victor, Eutropius, and Orosius (vii. 22) place the loss of Dacia in this reign. The series of coins of Odessus (near Varna), which begin with Trajan and end with Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, prove that this part of Moesia (where the Goths had destroyed Istria) was in process of being detached from the Empire.

for the same reasons) the provinces were covered with fortified castles, and the walls of cities were made strong again. Gallienus rebuilt those of Verona, the gate of Italy,¹ and employed two Byzantine engineers to fortify the towns of Mœsia;² Claudius II. later reconstructed the walls of Nicæa;³ Aurelian and Probus undoubtedly continued these defensive works; and, as the barbarians penetrated far into the provinces, the cities of the interior, as well as those of the frontiers, surrounded themselves with ramparts.⁴ The emperors of the first two centuries of the Christian era had not required so much prudence, for the reason that they had made the Empire one great city, peaceful and industrious, only needing to be protected by outposts, which good discipline rendered perfectly inaccessible. The two periods are characterized by their monuments; in one, the works of peace, strength, and security; in the other, the works of war, weakness, and alarm.

¹ Accordingly Verona took his name: *Colonia Augusta Verona Nova Gallieniana*, inscription over the gate of Verona, now called *de' Borsari*. (*C. I. L.*, v. 3,329.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 13: . . . *instaurandis urbibus muniendisque præfecit*. One of these engineers was named Athenæus, and we have, from an author of this name, in the *Mathematici veteres*, 1693, a treatise on machines of war.

³ Letronne, *Journal des Savants*, 1827.

⁴ See above, p. 391.



THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS; THE EMPIRE STRENGTHENED.

CHAPTER XCVII.

CLAUDIUS AND AURELIAN (268-275 A.D.).

I.—CLAUDIUS II. (268-270); THE FIRST INVASION REPULSED.

THE conspirators of the camp of Milan resembled in nothing the praetorians who had formerly put the Empire up to auction. They were valiant soldiers, determined to put an end to the disgrace of Rome by the re-establishment of discipline and a vigorous prosecution of the war against the barbarians. They selected for emperor the man who seemed to them most experienced, and who was the most conspicuous, Claudius the Dalmatian.* The flatterers of Constantius Chlorus, his grand-nephew, gave him for ancestor the Trojan Dardanus; but he had made his own rank. Decius had declared him indispensable to the state; Valerian held him in high esteem, and Gallienus dreaded his judgment.

Under Valerian, Claudius had held the government of Illyrium and the command of the troops posted from the Alps to the Euxine, with the appointment of prefect of Egypt, the honours of the proconsul of Africa, and a suite as numerous as that

* Marcus Aurelius Claudius. Trebellius Pollio (*in Claudio*, ?) gives him the *nomen gentilicium* of Flavius, which passed to all his posterity. Zosimus and Zonaras say that he was a member of the conspiracy, and this is doubtless the fact, although Julian, his kinsman, denies it. He had two brothers, Quintillus, of whom we shall speak later, and Crispus, whose daughter Claudia, married to Eutropius, was the mother of Constantius Chlorus.

of the emperor;¹ in which we see that the luxury of Oriental courts had invaded that of Rome, and was transforming, even in these times of disaster, the simple *comitatus* of the early proconsuls into a royal state ruinous to the public finances. The weakness of Gallienus irritated him; something of this came to the emperor's ears, who made haste to write to one of his officers a humble



Gold Bracelet adorned with a Coin of Claudius Gothicus.²

letter, in which is revealed the miserable condition of these Augusti, who knew neither how to command nor how to make themselves obeyed:

"I learn with the deepest regret by your report that Claudius, our kinsman and friend, is greatly offended with me on account of rumours, mostly untrue, which have been brought him. I beg you, my dear Venustus, if you are willing to show me your devotion, that you will employ Gratus and Herennianus to appease

him. But let it all be done secretly, least the Dacian soldiers, already discontented, should proceed to some dangerous extremity. I send him presents; get him to receive them courteously; but let him not suspect that I know his sentiments towards me, for if he believed me to have cause of resentment against him he might take violent action."³

¹ *Salarii quantum habet Ægypti præfectura, tantum vestium quantum proconsulatus Africano detulimus, tantum argenti quantum accipit curator Illyrici* (Trebell. Pollio, *Claud.*, 15).

² Cabinet of Vienna. Cf. Arneth, *Gold und Silb.*, pl. vi. 11. This bracelet (about twice the size of the figure) bears four coins encased: Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Gordian III., and Claudius II., and proves, like the collar of Naix and many aurei which we have already given, the taste of the Romans for jewels of this kind.

³ These gifts, which the emperor enumerates in his letter, were as follows: "Two cups of three pounds weight, adorned with precious stones; two gold cups of three pounds, enriched with gems; a basin of chased silver of twenty pounds; a silver dish with chasing of vine leaves of thirty pounds; another great silver dish with ivy leaves of twenty-three pounds; a silver basin of twenty pounds weight, whereon is engraved a fish; two silver pitchers inlaid with gold of six pounds weight, and some small silver vases, weighing collectively twenty-five pounds; ten Egyptian cups of divers workmanship; two cloaks of brilliant colour with purple borders; sixteen garments of various kinds; a white tunic, half silk; a linen garment with silk bands embroidered with gold, of the weight of three ounces; three pairs of our boots of Persian leather; ten Dalmatian belts; a Dardanian ehlamys in the form of a mantle; an Illyrian cloak for bad

Gallienus hoped to pay his ransom in this way; but probably Claudius only despised him the more for it. When the conspirators had proclaimed him emperor, the soldiers showed some discontent, in order to make their price higher. Twenty pieces of gold distributed to each man removed all scruples. They declared Gallienus a tyrant; and the senate, with more genuine eagerness, did the same. They ordered off to the Gemoniæ the servants of the man who disliked any trace of patriotism in the senators,¹ and it is related that in the curia itself one of the officers of the treasury had his eyes put out,² a shameful cruelty, announcing the degenerate days of the later Empire. Claudius put a stop to these executions, and the Conscript Fathers, repenting, placed Gallienus among the *divi*, which was equivalent to the maintenance of his acts.

When they heard of the election of Claudius they confirmed it by those repeated acclamations which seem to us so contrary to senatorial gravity, but were at that time a surprise to no one: "Augustus Claudius, the gods grant you to our prayers (repeated sixty times); Claudius Augustus, it is you, or a ruler resembling you, whom we have ever desired (forty times); Claudius Augustus, the wishes of the state call you to the throne (forty times); Claudius Augustus, you are the model of brothers, fathers, friends, senators, and rulers (eighty times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from the Palmyrenes (five times); Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Zenobia and Victorina (seven times); Claudius Augustus, may Tetricus be nought (seven times)." ³

Claudius, in fact, found himself in the presence of three adversaries. With better judgment than the senate possessed, he neglected two of them who were far away at the extremities of the Empire, rapidly disposed of the third, whom a judgment of the soldiers condemned to death, and occupied himself with preparing for a great war against the barbarians. "The matter of Tetricus,"

weather; an over-garment with a hood; two furred hoods; four pieces of Phœnician staffs; 150 gold Valerians and 300 *trientes salonienses*."

¹ See p. 335.

² . . . *patronique fisci in curiam perducto effossos oculos pependisse satis constat* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 33).

³ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 4.

he said to the senate, "concerns myself only, that of the Goths is of importance to the state."¹

For the last thirty years these barbarians had been ravaging the Roman frontiers; when booty became rare, they formed the idea of establishing themselves as a nation in the interior of the Empire, whose climate they knew to be milder than that of the Scythian plains, where extremes of cold and heat made life hard. Messengers were sent from the banks of the Dniester to those of the Morava (March); councils were held among the Tervingæ or Eastern Goths, among the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Peucinii, and a vast coalition was formed to second the invasion of the Eastern Goths by a series of attacks upon the middle Danube. The Scordisci, of Celtic origin, entered the league; the Alemanni and their neighbours, the Juthungi,² doubtless informed as to these projects, promised themselves to derive advantage from them in their raids into the rich valley of the Po. They even were the first to be ready; and, without waiting for their allies, they rushed through the defiles of the Alps, which they had often before traversed, and came down in the year 268 upon the shores of the Lago di Garda (Benacus). Claudius met them there with an army which he had already been able to discipline thoroughly to his authority, and half of the barbarians fell under the sword of the legionaries. It was a good omen for the more serious strife to come.

During the winter of 268 the hatchet rung incessantly through the Sarmatian forests; the felled trees were rolled to the river banks, and in the spring these streams were covered with 2,000 vessels,³ whereon tried warriors were embarked. The horde itself, consisting of 320,000 fighting men,⁴ not to mention the

¹ He, however, took some precautions to close Italy against the Gallic emperor, and to threaten his provinces. An inscription recently discovered at Grenoble gives Claudius the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, which he took after his victories over the Alemanni, and reveals a fact unknown to the historians, namely, his making ready for a campaign against Tetricus. This inscription is engraved at the base of a statue raised to Claudius by an army corps posted in Narbonensis, in which were some of the imperial guard, *protectores*, and whose commander was the *perfectissimus*, Julius Placidianus, prefect of the watch. (L. Renier, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, July 18th, 1879.)

² Amm. Marcellinus (xvii. 6) says of the Juthungi: *Alemannorum pars*.

³ Zosimus (i. 42) says 6,000.

⁴ This is the statement of Claudius in his letter to the senate.

women and children and slaves, set out on its march westward with innumerable flocks,¹ and great wagons which were made to



Roman Trooper treading a German under his Horse's Feet.²

serve as protection to their camps.³ The army and the fleet

¹ The barbarians were accustomed to be followed by their flocks to secure their subsistence. We read in the *Augustan History* that, under Valerian, that is to say, before the great invasion, Aurelian took from some bands in Thrace oxen and horses enough to supply the province, and that he was able also to send to one of the emperor's villas 2,000 cows, 1,000 mares, 10,000 sheep, and 15,000 goats. This was the booty to be obtained from the barbarians. Accordingly, Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 9) exclaims, after the emperor's great victory: *Quid boum barbarorum nostri videre majores, quid ovium, quid equestrum?*

² Monument found near Zahlbach. (Museum of Mayence.) The barbarian is recognizable by his long hair and his curved sword. (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 59.)

³ This use was so well known to the Romans that they invented a new word to express

followed the coast, keeping at some distance from it, the former to avoid the marshes which the sluggish rivers in this region leave at their mouths, the latter on account of the shoals which the alluvial deposits form to a considerable distance.¹ The Danube was crossed by aid of the vessels, and a few days' march brought the Goths in sight of Tomi. Preceding invasions had made clear to all the cities in this region the necessity of reconstructing their walls and putting themselves in a state of defence. Tomi closed its gates; the inhabitants manned their walls, and the Goths were not in a condition to effect a breach. Being unable to delay

in these plains of the Dobroudja, where it is so difficult to live, they set out towards the Balkans in the direction of Marcianopolis (18 miles eastward of Varna). This city, built by Trajan, was worthy of its founder, and stood firm against all attacks.



Coin of Tomi.²

The barbarians then conceived a skilful design: they separated, and the fleet sailed towards the Propontis, threatened Byzantium and Cyzicus, and then, notwithstanding a tempest which cost it a great loss of men and vessels, reached the peninsula of Athos, where those embarked on the vessels again separated. Part of them besieged Cassandrea, the ancient Potidæa, and the great city of Thessalonica, to open a way into Macedon. The others ravaged Greece, the Cyclades, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the storm, losing its strength as it went on, at last died away on the shores of Pamphylia.

While the noise of these raids kept in the south of the Empire the Roman forces which were in the neighbourhood of the Ægean Sea, the principal attack was made on the north: the Goths traversed Mœsia and arrived in the valley of the

it . . . *facta carragine* (Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 13, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 7). The Goths before the battle of Adrianople, Attila after the battle of Châlons, inclosed themselves within a wall made of their wagons, and the emigrants upon the plains in the territories of the United States do the same at this day.

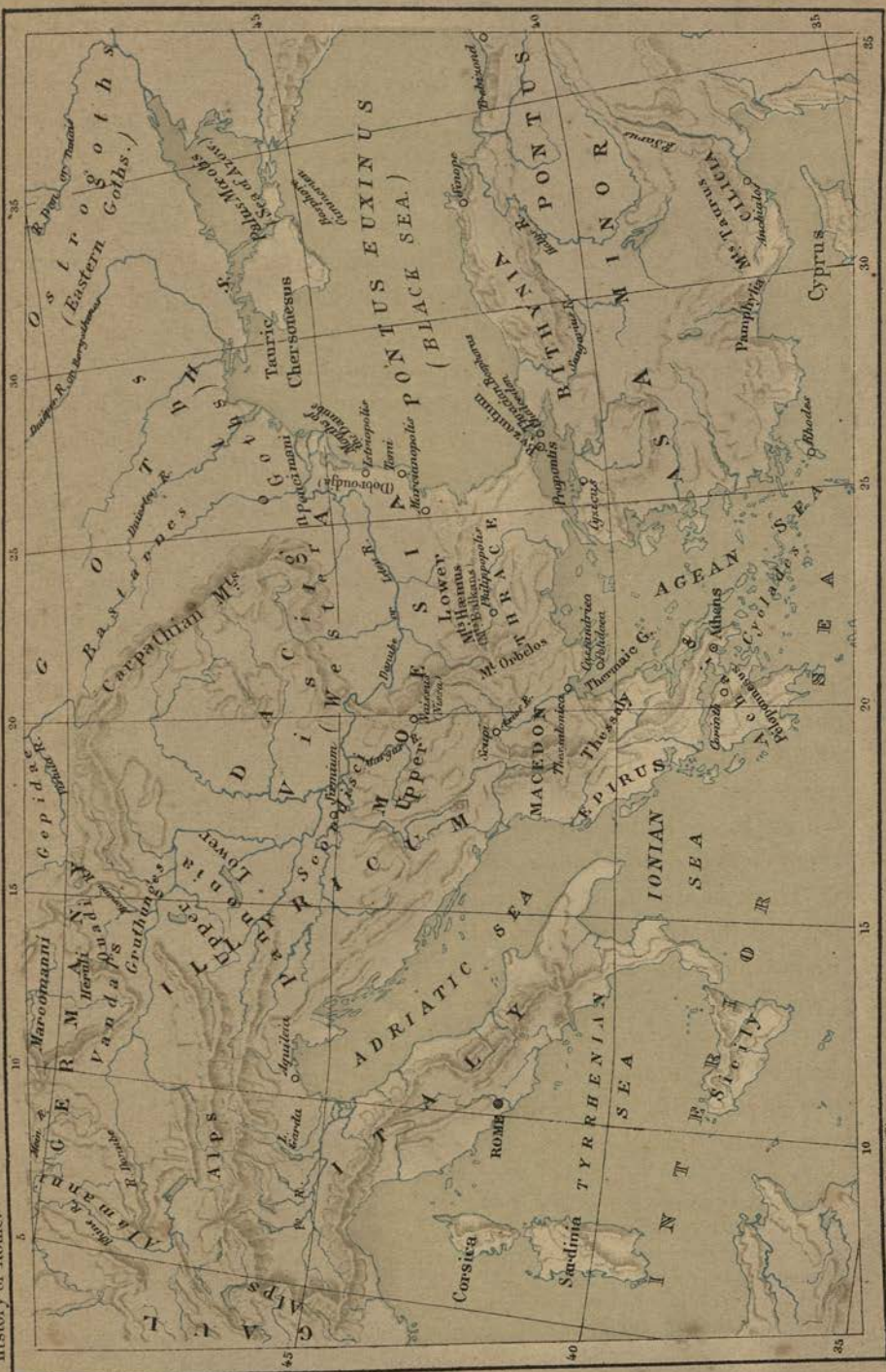
¹ Whatever may have been the number of vessels, the fleet could not have carried the entire army, and the history of this invasion is incomprehensible, unless we admit that there was both a land and sea force.

² Bust of Tomi. On the reverse: TOMI TIMO and an eagle within an oak wreath. (Bronze coin.)

MAP FOR THE GOTHIC INVASIONS In the Time of DECUS, CLAUDIUS II and VALERIAN.

History of Rome.

Vol. VI.



Scale
Miles
0 10 20 30 40

Litlog. Map & Co. London & Foreign.

Margus (the Morava of the south), being well aware that they could not establish themselves peacefully on the right bank of the Danube until after they had destroyed the imperial army. Never, since the Gauls and Hannibal, had Rome been in so great danger. Claudius wrote to the senate: "I must tell you the truth, Conscrip't Fathers: 300,000 barbarians have invaded Roman territory. If I am successful, you will acknowledge that we have deserved well of our country. If I am not victorious, remember whom I follow. The state is exhausted, and we fight after Valerian, after Ingenuus, after Regalianus, after Lælianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, after many others whom the contempt inspired by Gallienus detached from the state. We are deficient in bucklers and swords and javelins. Tetricus is master of the Gallic and Spanish provinces, which are the strength of the Empire, and, I am ashamed to say it, our archers are all serving under Zenobia. Whatever little we may do, our successes will be as great as you have a right to expect."¹



Quintillus, Brother
of Claudius II.
(Small Bronze.)

Claudius acted with discretion. He did not advance directly upon this enormous mass. Leaving his brother Quintillus at the head of a considerable army in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, to keep secure this gate into Italy, he himself traversed Illyria, entered Macedon by the pass of Scupi, and halted in the upper valley of the Axios. He thus placed himself between the fleet of the Goths and their land army. Protected against the latter by Mount Orbelos, he could by the Axios, which falls into the extremity of the Thermaic gulf, keep watch over that side. If the siege-machines, which the barbarians had caused to be constructed by Roman fugitives, should overcome the resistance of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, the emperor was able to hinder the victors from passing over into Macedon and effecting a junction with their brethren. This position permitted him therefore to wait his time for striking a decisive blow.

But the Goths were not able to storm a well-defended city, and they had not the patience to reduce it by famine.² At the

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 7.

² To preserve the memory of the brave resistance made by Thessalonica, a bronze medal was struck in honour of the god Cabirus, *Deo Cabiro*, the protecting divinity of the city, who

news of the approach of Claudius they marched boldly to meet him; Aurelian, whom the emperor had appointed chief of the cavalry, arrested them by an engagement in which the Dalmatian horse distinguished themselves. Three thousand Goths were killed, many more were taken prisoners, and Claudius, now set free to move



Goths (Men, Women, and Children) led into Slavery.¹

northward by the discomfiture of the southern enemy, went across the mountains in search of the great army in the valley of the Margus. The battle took place near Naïssus (Nissa); it was long and sanguinary. A corps, which was able to advance through an unguarded road, turned the enemy's flank, and fell upon their rear. This movement was fatal to the barbarians: 50,000 remained upon field (269),² and the others, cut off from the valley of the

doubtless came thither from Samothrace, the sanctuary of the Cabiri. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 472.)

¹ Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the third century. (Vatican.)

² We have medals of Claudius of this year which represent him with the radiate crown. (Cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 471.)

Danube, fell in scattered bands upon Macedon and Thrace. The legions separated to pursue them; the war was broken into fragments, and it became impossible to repeat the blow struck at Naïssus. From time to time the barbarians halted behind the wall of their wagons, a movable fortification, whence more than



Roman Auxiliary Horseman. (Museum of Mayence.)

once they made successful sorties against those of the Romans who ventured in too small force into their neighbourhood. Nevertheless, wasted by continual attacks, by hunger, and by disease, they perished in multitudes. A somewhat numerous troop succeeded in taking refuge in the Balkans. The Romans followed them thither, and occupied all means of egress from the mountain, where during the severe winter provisions were lacking, and to complete their destruction Claudius entered the defiles and put them to the sword (270).

The emperor prepared his bulletin of victory with an emphasis not unpardonable: "We have destroyed 120,000 Goths, and sunk 2,000 vessels. The water of the river is concealed under the bucklers that it bears along with it, the banks under broken swords and lances, the fields under the bones of the dead. The roads are all choked with the enormous baggage they have left behind them."¹

The imperial fleet had also been successful in destroying what remained of the vessels that had come from the Dniester;² so that, of this vast multitude, but very few returned to the regions they had left a year before so full of hope and courage. Those who had not perished were sent to cultivate as slaves or colonists the lands of the conquerors, and their wives were distributed among the Roman soldiers. A certain number of their young men were enrolled in the cohorts, and others sent to Rome to fight in the amphitheatres. The capital doubtless was not the only city honoured with "a present of gladiators." Claudius would naturally grant the same favour to many; all Italy might see serving its pleasures those Goths who, during an entire generation, had inspired it with so much alarm.⁴



Reverse of a Coin
of Claudius II.,
bearing: IV-
VENTVS AVG.
(Small Bronze.)³

This immense drain upon the Gothic nation was to secure a century of repose to Mœsia.⁵ But the ruler who had repulsed this first and formidable invasion fell amid his triumph. A pestilence had aided him in setting free the provinces, but it carried him off at Sirmium (April, 270). He was but fifty-four, and his strong maturity promised the Empire a reparatory reign, for he loved justice, he desired discipline, and he was of those who knew how to maintain it. In the midst of the ambitious surnames which so many emperors have received—some for real, but more

¹ *Epistola ad Jun. Brocchum Illyricum tuentem* (Treb. Pollio, *Claud.*, 8).

² Zonaras, xii. 26.

³ This coin, with the effigy of Hercules, makes allusion to the green old age of the emperor, as Virgil says (*Aeneid*, vi. 304):

Jam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

⁴ Treb. Pollio (*Claud.*, 8-9): "... implete barbaris servis Romanæ provincie: factus colonus ex Gotho, nec ulla fuit regio quæ Gothum servum non haberet. He speaks also of immense droves of oxen and sheep and *equarum quas fama nobilitat Celticarum*. (Cf. Zosimus, i. 46.)

⁵ "... pulsî per longa sæcula siluerunt immobiles (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 5).

for problematic victories—history should give most honourable mention to that of Claudius Gothicus. The nations long remembered him. Under Constantine, Eumenes still said: “Why did he not longer remain the protector of men and become later the companion of the gods?”¹

At news of the death of Claudius the legions of Aquileia proclaimed his brother, M. Aurelius Quintillus, whom the senate hastened to recognize. The soldiers of Pannonia, however, had made a better choice in naming Aurelian,² whom, according to some accounts, Claudius himself had designated as his successor. Such was the fame of this general that his rival did not even attempt to contend against him. After a reign of three weeks, according to some, of several months according to others,⁴ Quintillus killed himself, or was put to death by soldiers whom his severity had incensed.



Quintillus.³

II.—AURELIAN (270–275).⁵

“After the ceremonies of the festival of Cybele,” says Vopiscus, “the prefect of the city, Junius Tiberianus, took me in his chariot from the Palatine to the gardens of Varus, and we talked, among other things, of the history of the emperors. When we came to the temple of the Sun dedicated by Aurelian, Tiberianus, who was attached to the family of this emperor, asked me if any one had written his life: ‘Certain Greeks have done it,’ I said; ‘but no Latins.’ ‘What!’ exclaimed this upright man,⁶ ‘a Thersites, a Simon, and all the monsters of antiquity are known to us, posterity will also know them, and Aurelian, this valiant emperor who has restored its world to Rome, will be to our descendants a stranger!

¹ *Panegyri. Constantini*, 2.

² This is the statement of Zonaras; Zosimus does not give Aurelian the imperial dignity until after the death of Quintillus.

³ IMP. C. M. AVR. CL. QVINTILLVS AVG. around the radiate head of the Augustus. (Bronze coin.)

⁴ This is the statement of Zosimus. The number of coins of Quintillus that we possess (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 478; Cohen, vol. v. pp. 112–120) compel us to adopt the second opinion, which, moreover, agrees better with the early facts of Aurelian's reign.

⁵ L. Domitius Aurelianus.

⁶ Vopiscus says (*Aur.*, 1) *sanctus*, using the word in its ancient sense.

Meanwhile we have his *Ephemerides* in which he ordered to be registered his acts day by day.¹ I will cause these books, which are in the Ulpian library, to be given you, that you may represent Aurelian as he really was.'"



Bust of Cybele.³

These were rich materials which the highest magistrate of Rome offered to the historian. Vopiscus, a man of small mind and little literary skill, knew not how to avail himself of them. But the official documents which he drew from the archives are in many ways interesting; we have used some of them already and shall use others hereafter.

Claudius had destroyed the great Gothic army, with the exception of some few bands which had found shelter here and there among the mountains, and later reappeared for a moment in the neighbourhood of Anchialos and Nicopolis, where the country people proved strong enough to disperse them.²

But, following the plan marked out, there was to be a second invasion from Pannonia; the Vandals, the Juthungi, and the Alemanni were in motion. To arrest these new assailants, Claudius had turned northward and

¹ *Ephemeridas . . . libris linteis (ibid.)*. The scene related in this passage has been placed about 291, or sixteen years after the death of Aurelian. Junius Tiberianus in this year held his second consulship, but not the urban prefecture. Many passages in chaps. xlii. and xliii. prove that Vopiscus wrote his book after the accession of Constantius Chlorus (305). The father of Vopiscus had been among the intimate friends of Diocletian, and we have seen that the son was the companion of the urban prefect. These relations with the highest society in Rome placed him in a position to take advantage of the reminiscences of Aurelian's early companions in arms; but his feeble literary merit proves that this society was not very exacting in respect to mental gifts.

² This fact explains certain medals of Quintillus.

³ Roman work of the first century, found near Abbeville. (Marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,918.)

encamped his troops at Sirmium, a strong place not far from the point where the Save falls into the Danube, and the defensive centre of the entire region.

Aurelian was at this spot when the death of Claudius gave him the Empire. He was born in 214,¹ in the environs of Sirmium, the son of a colonist of the senator Aurelius, whose name, according to usage, had been assumed by his freedman, and the latter had charge of a little farm belonging to his patron.² His mother had been a priestess of the Sun in the village where she dwelt, and he always preserved a special veneration for that divinity. We know his courage, his exploits, and the high offices which he had filled. Loaded with honours by Valerian, he had been, at the suggestion of that emperor, adopted as son or son-in-law by Ulpian Crinitus, one of the great personages of the Empire, who claimed to belong to the family of Trajan; and the son of a Pannonian peasant became the heir to the household gods, the name, and the wealth of the most illustrious house in Rome.³

Very severe as to discipline, very exacting for the service, Aurelian however exercised great sway over the troops, for the reason that they had often seen their general fighting like a common soldier, a circumstance which, in the ancient wars, added great prestige to a chief. There was talk of many enemies whom he had slain, and he was known in the camps as "the iron-handed Aurelian."⁴ Being the bravest, it was permitted him to be the most severe. A soldier had offered insult to the wife of the man with whom he was quartered: Aurelian ordered him to be bound

¹ Malalas (xii. p. 301) makes him sixty-one years of age at the time of his death, and consequently born in 214; Tillemont and Wietersheim place his birth in 212. The *Alexandrian Chronicle* makes him seventy-five at his death; but the facts of his reign, medals, and other considerations do not permit us to attribute to him this advanced age.

² *Colonus*, says the author of the *Epitome*, 35.

³ Vopiscus speaks, following documents which he gives as official, of a formal adoption: but as Aurelian did not take the name of Ulpian Crinitus, which he would have done according to usage had he been adopted, we feel obliged to doubt the authenticity of the act. On the other hand, both inscriptions (Orelli, Nos. 1,032 and 5,552) and coins (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 487) give him as a wife Ulpia Severina. If this Ulpia was the daughter of Crinitus, the marriage would have secured to Aurelian the same advantages as an adoption, while had he been the adopted son of Ulpian Crinitus he could not have married her who had thus become legally his sister. Many ancient rules had, however, fallen into desuetude, and it is possible that both the adoption and the marriage did take place.

⁴ This is rather a mediæval equivalent than an exact translation of the Latin: *manu ad ferrum* (*Aur.*, 6), "Aurelian, sword in hand."

between two trees bent together, which tore him asunder as they sprung back into their place. On one occasion he wrote to an officer: "If you desire to be a tribune, if you wish even to live, restrain the soldier. Let no man steal a fowl or a sheep, or so much as a bunch of grapes, or demand oil, salt, or wood. Each must be content with his rations: what the state provides is enough; booty must be taken from the enemy, and must not cost tears to the provinces. See to it that weapons, clothing, and shoes are always in good condition; the pack-horses well groomed, the company's mule¹ cared for by each soldier in his turn, and all the forage used, so that none be sold. See that the soldiers be attended gratuitously by the surgeons, and prevent them from wasting their money in taverns or upon soothsayers; require them to conduct themselves decently in quarters, and let brawlers be beaten." Septimius Severus had been wont to speak thus, and this firmness had given him an illustrious reign; it had the same results in the case of Aurelian.

Like the great African, Aurelian was a man of strict morality and disdainful of pleasure; like him also, Aurelian did not hasten to receive the foolish acclamations of the senate. He defeated the Juthungi who threatened Rætia, and regulated the affairs of this frontier, which occupied several months. When he at last made the journey to Rome, he spoke haughtily in the senate: "I have gold for my friends," he said; "and I have steel for my foes."² It will soon be seen that these foes were not always on the frontiers. To have no cause to fear in Italy the old troops of Quintillus, he had returned from Pannonia well attended. The Juthungi and Vandals deemed the occasion propitious to invade that province. Aurelian returned thither in all haste, sending before him the order to collect the grain and cattle within the fortresses. The shock was severe, and the victory indecisive. When night came, however, the enemy fell back; and Aurelian was able to cut off their route to the Danube. Menaced by famine in a desolated country, the barbarians opened negotiations. Their envoys concealed fear under a show of arrogance, and the emperor postponed their

¹ *Mulum centuriatum*, the ordinance mule.

² There exists uncertainty in regard to the order of events in the first months of Aurelian's reign. I have followed the account which seems to harmonize best with the known facts.

audience until the following day. He then received them seated upon his tribunal surrounded by a threatening military display; on each side, his principal officers on horseback; behind him, the



Aurelian. (Bust of the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 122.)

golden eagles of the legions, the effigies of the emperors, the silver pikes which bore in gilt letters the names of the different corps; then the army, as if ready to engage, ranged in a semi-circle upon an eminence which brought it into full view.¹ Less

¹ Ἄ ὃν πάντα ἀνατεταμένα προῦφαινετο . . . (Dexippos, *Fragm. hist. Græc.*, iii. p. 682; Peter Patricius, *Excerpta de legionibus*, p. 126).

skilful in concealing their feelings than were the Indians of North America, the Juthungi stood for awhile abashed in the presence of this imposing spectacle; but their audacity soon returned to them: "We do not ask peace as those who have been conquered," said their interpreter, "but as former friends of the Romans, and as men who know that a battle lost by a surprise may be followed by a victory. Our nation alone numbers 40,000 cavalry and twice as many foot; and Italy, which we have almost completely overrun, knows well our valour. In alliance with us you will have no enemy to fear; give us, therefore, the usual presents, the subsidies that we were receiving before the war, and let peace be made." Dexippos, who relates the scene, is a contemporary, but he puts in the mouth of Aurelian a very lengthy reply; we shall give only the concluding words: "Since you have violated the treaties and pillaged our territory, you have no right to ask any favours, and it is your place to accept the conqueror's law. You know what became of the 300,000 Goths who invaded the Empire; the same fate awaits you. It is my intention to cross the Danube and punish you in your own homes for your broken faith." The Juthungi, at last intimidated, promised to return into their country. A few months later came another invasion of the Vandals and the Jazyges, and another victory on the part of Aurelian, who, to render their retreat more speedy, gave them provisions. They gave up as hostages the sons of their chiefs, and 2,000 cavaliers, who were included among the auxiliaries of the legions.¹ Aurelian, making a sacrifice on his part which must have cost his pride a pang; although it cost the Empire nothing, ceded Dacia to them, offering lands on the south of the Danube to those Roman colonists who were unwilling longer to remain in the province. This relinquishment was necessary, for Dacia, overrun from both sides and invaded to its very centre, was no longer tenable. If there yet remained Romans in the province, and there were enough certainly to form a brave and noble population, there remained no Roman administration except in Transylvania, where a few cohorts defended doubtless the gold

¹ Five hundred, who had spread themselves abroad in order to plunder, were massacred by the commandant of the auxiliaries, and the Vandal king had their chief shot by his bowmen. (*Ibid.*, p. 686.)

mines of that country, which had been worked by the Romans for a century and a half. To produce the impression that nothing had been lost a new Dacia was constructed out of a part of Mœsia, and the name of Trajan's conquest remained on the official list of



Roman Cavalier. (Museum of Naples.)

the provinces. But, instead of the Dacia of the mountains, a fortress which would have been impregnable if it had been possible to close its gates on the lower Danube, it was the Dacia of the shore, *Dacia Ripensis*,¹ which no longer protected anything. At last the god Terminus fell back. For a victor the condition was

¹ Between Upper and Lower Mœsia. It was at first called Dacia Aureliani (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 39); it was afterwards divided into Dacia Ripensis, with the capital Ratiaria (Arzar Palanka), and Dacia Mediterranea, with the capital Sardica (Triaditza). Dexippos does not mention (at least in the fragments which remain to us) the abandonment of Dacia, and the narrative of Eutropius (ix. 15) gives us no means of fixing the date of this event, which comes naturally after the double treaty with the Juthungi and the Vandals.

hard; Aurelian seems to have felt the need of protecting himself by the consent of his troops, as representatives of the Roman people. At least he consulted the army on the question of peace with the Vandals,¹ and the withdrawal of the Dacian garrisons must have been the tacitly accepted consequence of the terms of a treaty which the army approved. In the state of the Empire and of the barbaric world the Danube appeared to be the best frontier, and the great successes of Claudius, and those even of Aurelian, prove that if the river by no means forbade invaders a passage, it at least made their return difficult.

We shall not, as easily as the emperor, say adieu to this valiant Roman population of Trajan Dacia. Worthy of its origin, and of him who gave it its first cities, it played in the Carpathians the rôle of Pelagius and his companions in the Asturias; braving all invasions from the height of this impregnable fortress; regaining foot by foot, as the waves retreated towards the west and south, the lost ground, and reconstituting, after sixteen centuries of fighting, a new Italy, *Tzarea Roumanesca*, whose advent into the rank of free nations is saluted by all the peoples of the Latin race.²

Aurelian had resigned himself to this blot upon his name on account of a fresh invasion of Italy by the Alemanni and Juthungi. In the hope of exterminating the horde or capturing it wholly, he proposed to imitate the plan of Claudius at Naïssus, namely, to have an attack made from the front upon the invaders by the larger part of the Roman army in the plain of the Po, while he himself, the prætorians, and auxiliaries, should cut off their retreat. This division of the forces occasioned a disaster. The barbarians emerging in the evening from dense woods in which they had concealed themselves, surprised near Placentia the Romans, who were not keeping careful watch. Many of the legionaries perished, and a part of Cisalpine Gaul fell a prey to the most frightful devastation. From the Alps to the Straits of Messina

¹ Dexippos (*Fragm. hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 685): . . . ἐρομένου βασιλέως, ὅ τι σφίσι περὶ τῶν παρόντων λόγῳ εἶναι δοκεῖ.

² I cannot accept the opinion of Roesler (*Dacier und Rumänen*, Wien, 1866), which makes the Wallachians return into Dacia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, any more than that which maintains that among these millions of men who speak a language of Latin derivation there are not numerous descendants of Trajan's colonists.

there was a moment of terror as lately there had been in the peninsula of the Balkans at the approach of the great Gothic army.

To calm these terrors recourse was had to religious expiations. Aurelian, who knew what good use could be made, in leading the crowd, of the intervention of the gods and all the paraphernalia of old superstitions, wrote to the senate the following letter, which the urban prætor read aloud in the curia: "I am surprised, revered Fathers, that you have so long delayed to open the Sibylline books; you conduct yourselves like men met in a church of Christians rather than in a temple of the gods. Act, now at least, and by the sacredness of pontiffs and the solemnities of religion, aid the ruler who is in a position of such difficulty. It is never a disgrace to have the assistance of the gods in conquering an enemy. It is thus that our ancestors undertook and terminated so many wars."

Before the arrival of this letter a similar proposition had been made in the senate, but the sceptical and the emperor's courtiers had turned it into ridicule, averring that Aurelian stood in need of no supernatural assistance. The imperial message, however, changed these sentiments, and the first senator who was called upon by the consul in charge reproached the Conscript Fathers with being so inconsiderate in regard to the safety of the state, and so slow in having recourse to the books of destiny and taking advantage of the favours of Apollo.¹ "Go then," he said, "holy pontiffs, you who are pure, irreproachable, and sacred; go in sacred attire and in a pious frame of mind; go up to the temple and prepare there seats wreathed with laurel; open with your respected hands the books of religion; seek therein the eternal destinies of the state; teach to children whose parents are living the hymn which they are to sing. We will decide upon the expense necessary for this ceremony; we will order the preparations for the sacrifices and fix the day for the lustration of the fields."² (Session of January 10th, 271.)

The city was solemnly purified, sacred hymns were sung, a



Aurelian crowned
with Laurel.
(Gold Coin.)

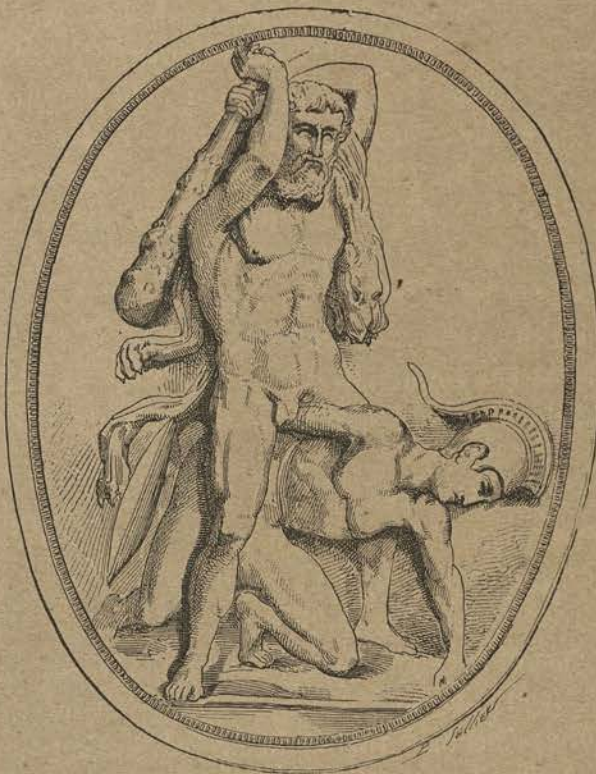
¹ The Sibylline oracles were believed to have been inspired by Apollo.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 19.

procession went through the streets; lastly, sacrifices were offered in places indicated by the sacred books to prevent the barbarians from passing over them.¹ Vopiscus does not say that these expiations were human sacrifices; but Aurelian had offered captives of every nation,² and this could have been no other than the ancient custom of burying alive men whose offended shades would arrest

the march of their compatriots.

At the same time that Aurelian took measures to propitiate the gods, he also prepared his campaign against the barbarians. The latter, who entered upon war rather for the sake of plunder than of gaining territory, had divided in order to extend their depredations. They seem to have advanced as far as the Metaurus, which would announce an intention of marching upon Rome, the supreme ambition of all



Hercules killing Diomedes.³

these marauders. At least, there exists an inscription⁴ in which the cities of Pesaro and Fano return thanks to "Hercules Augustus, colleague of the invincible Aurelian," doubtless for some exploit of war achieved in their neighbourhood. Aurelian pursued these bands, destroying them one after another; near Pavia he encountered the main body of the barbarian army, and inflicted upon it a great defeat. And again of these invaders but few ever

¹ *In certis locis sacrificia fierent quæ barbari transire non possent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18).

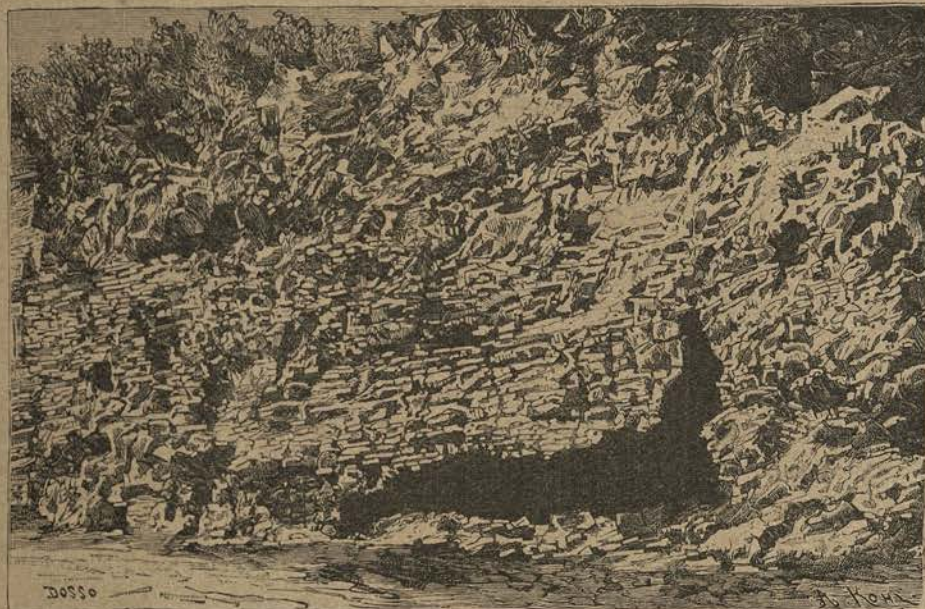
² . . . *cujuslibet gentis captos* (*ibid.*, 20).

³ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France* (cornelian of 19 millim. by 15), No. 1,771 of the Catalogue.

⁴ Orelli, Nos. 1,081 and 1,535.

again beheld the paternal hut concealed in the vast forests of the Neckar and the Main.

What went on at Rome during this campaign? No doubt there was much ridicule of the Pannonian who suffered the sovereign people to experience so great anxiety. It is possible that his statues may have been overthrown, and some of his people or his soldiers slain. Certain it is there were great riots,



Remains of Aurelian's Wall. (From a Photograph by Parker.)

for Vopiscus speaks of violent seditions.¹ The valiant soldier who had passed his life fighting for the Empire regarded this tumult as treasonable, and severely punished those who were guilty, and even senators were put to death.²

Long ago, Rome, in the security which her fortune and her sway gave her, had gone beyond her boundaries, and the wall of Servius was disappearing under the houses and gardens which covered the vast embankment and the base of the *agger*.³ The enemy approaching, Aurelian resolved to return to the precautions

¹ *Roman petit vindictæ cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggerebat* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 18 and 21; cf. Amm. Marcellinus, xxx. 8).

² Zosimus speaks of conspiracies and of conspirators justly punished, among whom he mentions three senators.

³ Accordingly Zosimus says (i. 19) of the Rome of that day that it was ἀρείχτρος.

of earlier days. It was a humiliating but necessary avowal. He gave Rome a second wall outside of the first, which was completed by Probus; this was about eleven miles in circumference (271).¹ This new line of fortifications is further marked by the wall of Honorius, so called because of the repairs made by that emperor.

The barbarians being repulsed, and Rome placed in safety from a sudden attack, Aurelian turned his attention to the two competitors who kept the eastern and western parts of the Empire outside of his control, Zenobia and Tetricus. The latter was the nearer, but he appeared the less dangerous of the two, and Aurelian had private reasons for feeling no dread of him;² the emperor therefore made his first attack upon the queen of Palmyra.

Odenathus, victorious over Sapor, whose capital he had twice insulted by planting his arrows in the gates of Ctesiphon, had been invested by Gallienus with the command of all the Roman forces in the East, and had even been associated in the Empire. He was making ready to deliver Asia Minor from the Goths, when, in 266-7, he fell a victim to one of those tragedies so frequent in the royal houses of the East.³ One day, in a royal hunt, his nephew Mæonios shot the first arrow and killed the game. It was contrary to etiquette, which reserved this to the king, and Odenathus angrily reproved the young man. Mæonios paid no attention to the reproof. Ambition to be considered the most skilful hunter in the desert took away all prudence from him; twice again his arrows anticipated those of the king. The insult was public; Odenathus deprived him of his horse, which was equivalent to depriving him of his rank, and when the violent youth broke forth in threats he caused him to be thrown into prison. Being set free at the entreaty of Herodes, the king's eldest son, the Arab cherished in his heart a bitter animosity,

¹ I follow Piale's correction (*delle Mura Aureliane*), which, in the text of Vopiscus (*Aur.*, 39), *quingaginta prope millia*, understands *pedum* and not *passuum*; 50,000 Roman feet making about eleven miles.

² Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 456) thinks even that the negotiation of which we shall shortly speak had been begun under Claudius. Coins exist in which are represented Claudius and Tetricus, one on either side. (*De Boze, Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. p. 515.)

³ The date of the death of Odenathus is determined by the Alexandrian coins; it occurred between the 29th of August, 266, and the 28th of August, 267.

and, with the aid of some accomplices, assassinated, during a banquet, both Odenathus and Herodes.¹

Zenobia had shared in the power and in the labours of her husband.² She claimed descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, which made her the woman of highest rank in the East; she was called also the most beautiful, and she was the most virtuous.³ Ambition and love of fame had stifled in her the vices which the harem nourishes. She knew all the languages spoken from Palmyra to Athens and from Athens to Memphis, even Latin;⁴ she read Homer and Plato; with Longinus—whose claims as author of the treatise on the Sublime are questionable, but who knew how to die bravely—she discussed questions of philosophy and literature, with the famous archbishop of Antioch, Paulus of Samosata, questions of theology; and she gave her two elder sons such able instructors that it was said of one of them, Timolaos, that had he lived longer he would have placed his name with those of the great Latin orators. The desert had, like Athens and Rome, its academy of learned men; but Palmyra had not all the tastes of the western world, for we find there no trace of those amphitheatres which all truly Roman cities made haste to build.



Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, wearing the Diadem. (Small Bronze.)

Zenobia accompanied her husband in war and the chase; she aided him in conquering the Persians and essayed without him to conquer Egypt. Some accuse her of having been in the conspiracy which cost the Caesar of Palmyra his life; but we have reason to doubt this. She had a son by a former marriage, to whom Herodes barred the way to power, and whom the latter's death would make heir to the kingdom. Doubtless the mother thought of this: it may be she hoped for it; but to share in a plot against Odenathus would have been to conspire against herself. Mæonios

¹ Zonaras, xii. 24.

² M. de Vogüé (*Inscr. sem.*, p. 29) translates the Semitic name of Zenobia, Batzebinah, by *mercatoris filia*. But it may also be said that Zenobia is a Greek name, which the queen assumed on account of her kinship with the Zenobios, who were very numerous at Palmyra, and also to gratify her Greek subjects.

³ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30. This author adds that Zenobia had read a history of Rome written in Greek, doubtless that of Dion Cassius, and that she had composed an abstract of the history of Alexander and of the East.

had assassinated his uncle through revenge, and with the design of taking his place, not of leaving it to Zenobia; neither had it been necessary to urge him to rid himself of Herodes, whom Odenathus had associated with himself in the supreme power;¹ the first crime had made the second necessary, and we admit that the young prince's step-mother must have seen without regret this death, which freed her son from a rival. The tragedy being accomplished, she aroused against the murderer the very soldiers who had proclaimed him king, and who now, doubtless for a little money, laid his head at Zenobia's feet, after which they saluted



Waballath
Augustus, Son of
Zenobia.
(Bronze.)

her eldest son, Waballath, with the title of Augustus and the two others as Cæsar.² She presented them to the people and to the army clad in the Roman purple, while she kept for herself the real power with the title *basilissa*, queen, equivalent doubtless in the minds of the Palmyrenes to the title of *augusta*.

In the midst of the confusion which had prevailed for nearly forty years, no one was surprised at all these Cæsars emerging from an Arab city. But what did seem strange was this—to see these children of the desert who had always held women in subjection, thus quietly accepting the sway of this firm and gentle hand. The East, it is true, had so many goddesses reigning in heaven that it might easily, without too great a sacrifice, allow women to reign upon earth,³ and its legends always spoke of Semiramis, the mighty sovereign of Babylon; of Dido, the renowned Carthaginian; and of that Queen of Sheba who had wished to look upon the glory of Solomon, the founder of Tadmor. Zenobia took pleasure in remembering Cleopatra, whom she equalled in beauty and in power, but whose masculine resolution at the last hour she did not, perhaps, possess.⁴ Her court

¹ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 14, 15.

² The Latin legend of the coins of Waballath is V. C. R. I. D. R., which M. de Sallet reads: *vir consularis, rex, imperator, dux Romanorum*. At Palmyra he did, in fact, bear the title of king, and in Lower Egypt was called βασιλεύς, king. In the fifth year of his reign (August 29th, 270, to August 28th, 271) he took the title of Augustus.

³ The great goddess of Byblos was considered superior in power to the male gods, her father and brothers, for example. (Halévy, *Inscr. de Byblos*, a paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions [Paris], May 3rd, 1878.)

⁴ Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30. We say perhaps, for Cleopatra had the opportunity for

was modelled after that of the emperors, with Oriental adulations borrowed from Persia, which Diocletian later imitated, and the diadem which he assumed. With bare arms and helmeted head she harangued her troops in a loud and musical voice, going along with them, usually on horseback, but sometimes even on foot, and shared in the prolonged banquetings of her generals, though never forgetting her rank and dignity. Aurelian does her justice: "Those who say," he writes, "that I have only conquered a woman, have no idea what this woman was, how wise in council, resolute in carrying out her plans, firm with her soldiers, and, according to the situation, peaceable or severe. Through her aid Odenathus conquered the Persians, and through fear of her arms, the Arabs, the Saracens, and the Armenians have been kept in tranquillity."²

Zenobia.¹

Zenobia was a formidable adversary. She had formed the design of adding to her territory in the East two countries which would be its outposts and bulwarks: Egypt, whither she sent an

suicide, which Zenobia, who was very carefully guarded, probably did not have. (See later.)

¹ Bust of the Vatican. (Museo Chiaramonti, No. 263.)

² Treb. Pollio, *Tyr. trig.*, 30.

army which seized Alexandria, and Asia Minor, whose peoples "knew not how to say no," accepted her sway. The Bithynians alone refused, and this refusal compromised the whole plan; for Bithynia, lying between the Propontis and the Bosphorus, was the great highway for armies passing from Europe into Asia, and this highway remained open to Aurelian.

The Egyptian affair began brilliantly. The historian Zosimus speaks of an army of 70,000 men which seized upon the country, or at least upon the northern provinces.



Waballath and Aurelian.²

A general of the name of Probus¹ had been sent against the pirates, who, taking advantage of the disorders produced by the great Gothic invasion, were now infesting the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria; he landed with

what troops he had in the Delta, where the Palmyrenes had left only a garrison of 5,000 men, increased his small army by some volunteers, and would have got the better of Zenobia's troops, when he was surprised near Memphis. Falling into the enemy's hands he took his own life,³ and the queen remained mistress of Lower Egypt.

Alexandrian coins bear the heads of Aurelian and Zenobia's son, as if they had been colleagues, and the latest of them, belonging to the seventh year of the reign of Waballath, show that this situation lasted till into the year 272.⁴

¹ Or Probatus (Trebell. Pollio, *Claud.*, 11).

² VABALLATHVS V. C. R. IM. D. R., and the laurelled head of Zenobia's son. On the reverse: IMP. C. AVRELIANVS AVG., and the radiate head of Aurelian. (Bronze coin.)

³ . . . *pugnauit . . . temere ut pæne caperetur* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 9). Zonaras says even that he was taken . . . Ζηνοβίαν . . . Πρόβον ἐλοῦσαν (xii. 27). According to M. de Sallet (*die Fürsten von Palmyra*, p. 44), Probus was an usurper who attempted to seize Egypt while Claudius was fighting against the Goths; Zenobia overthrew him, after which the Egyptians acknowledged the authority of the *imperator Romanus*, that is to say, Waballath swearing fidelity to the Roman Augustus, Claudius. In respect to this individual we have followed the story of Zosimus, who seems to have been well-informed as to the affairs of the Palmyrenes. (See Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, 595.)

⁴ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 496. So long as Zenobia ruled Egypt in the name of Claudius, the name of this emperor appears alone on the Alexandrian coins; upon the death of Claudius she caused to be struck, in Alexandria, coins bearing the effigy of Aurelian and that of Waballath, and also others with the head of Aurelian alone. After the rupture, in 271-2, the head of Aurelian disappears from the Alexandrian coins, and the name of Waballath is followed by the title *σεβαστός*, Augustus. (De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 32.)



Ancyra (Angora), from Perrot's *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc.

In the spring of this year Aurelian left Italy with a numerous army for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Asia. On the way he set free Illyria, Thrace, and Mœsia from the Gothic bands who still lingered there or had returned thither; he pursued one of them across the Danube, and compelled them to give him as hostages a number of young girls of noble family, whom he placed at Perinthus. He wrote to the legate of Thrace to furnish for their maintenance a certain sum, but to keep them in communities of seven, so that the expense to the state should be less while the young girls should be able to live in comfort. We have seen¹ how these hostages served the imperial policy: one of them, we are told, married a Roman general, and doubtless others did the same, and the emperor furnished the dowry.

In Bithynia Aurelian was welcomed as a liberator; hostilities began with the Galatians, where it was necessary to take Ancyra by storm. One of the chief cities of Cappadocia, Tyana, which covered the Cilician pass into Mount Taurus, would have made a long resistance if one of its richest citizens had not indicated an ill-fortified and ill-guarded point. Aurelian put the traitor to death, without, however, confiscating his property, a virtue rare among the monarchs of that time. The soldiers expected to plunder this wealthy city, but Aurelian forbade them to do it. Apollonius of Tyana still had his admirers; the biographer of Aurelian is one of them, and he maintains that an apparition of the hero prevented the emperor from destroying that city. Policy counselled this moderation, and Aurelian understood that in those troublous times indulgence was due to those who did not know on which side the right lay and where obedience was due.² • When he gave out that Apollonius had prohibited the sack of his native city, the soldiery, who might have refused obedience to their emperor, dared not refuse it to "the divine man," and a well-told lie saved a great city.

The passes of the Taurus were not at all guarded,³ and the

¹ p. 372.

² See later the amnesty that he granted.

³ The Taurus, or *Bulghar-Dagh*, has, on this side, peaks which rise to a height of 11,500 feet, but the pass is only 3,170 feet. Thence, by way of Adana and Mopsuesta, Aurelian could reach the road which crossed a spur of the Amanus (*Pylæ Amanides*), then turn at Alexandretta to the point where the Amanus, which runs parallel to the coast at a height of about 6,560 feet,

legions came down into Cilicia, turned the Gulf of Issus, and arriving at the Syrian Gates saw beneath them the Lake of Antioch, the city itself luxuriously reposing on the bank of the



from Favre and Mandrot and E.G.Rey

L.Thuillier, Del.

The Passes of Mount Amanus.

Orontes, and Daphne, the sanctuary of licentious rites. Zenobia was there with a portion of her cavalry. An action, which does not seem to have been very sanguinary,¹ gave the city into the

leaves between it and the sea only those two famous defiles called the Cilician and the Syrian Gates, at 2,625 and 2,950 feet above the sea. (See in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, January, 1878, the map of Messrs. Favre and Mandrot.)

¹ . . . *brevi apud Dapnem certamine* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 25). Zosimus (i. 51) represents it as more severe; but it was only a cavalry engagement and a skirmish of outposts.

power of the Romans; they entered it, while the Palmyrenes fell back towards Chalcis. Aurelian continued his system of clemency. Many inhabitants of Antioch, fearing that they should be treated as partisans of the queen, had escaped from the city with the Arab army, but a proclamation guaranteed them life and property, and almost all returned.

In another affair which has been made very conspicuous he showed the same spirit of conciliation. Paul of Samosata enjoyed at Antioch both the office of bishop and that of *procurator duce-narius*, or steward of Zenobia's finances. The city contained many Jews and Christians; among the latter were men who, while accepting the Gospel, rejected the divinity of Christ, or at least understood it otherwise than the Church did. According to them, Jesus was but a man in whom the Spirit of God, the *Logos*, resided as formerly in Moses and the Prophets.¹ They recognized the union of the Divine Word with humanity in Christ, and acknowledged that he deserved to be called God. But this attempt at a rational explanation ruined the doctrine of God made man, and diminished the religious fruitfulness of Christianity. Paul thought as they did. In 264 his faith had already become an object of suspicion; at the same time a numerous synod of bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled to examine into his views, had found them not heretical. Five years later his adversaries convoked another assembly, whither came seventy-six bishops, and he was cut off from the Church. A synodal letter addressed "to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, to all the bishops, priests, and deacons forming the Church under the heavens," announced to them the deposition of the bishop of Antioch. Paul, supported by Zenobia, however, did not relinquish the episcopal throne. The case was brought before Aurelian, who, with a good sense which we must admire, refused to give a decision, and still less to call to mind in these circumstances that there existed imperial edicts against the Christians. "These concern bishops," he said; "let him retain the episcopal palace with whom the bishops of Rome and Italy are in fellowship." The brother of Seneca, the tribune at Jerusalem, had also made answer on the subject of S. Paul, accused

¹ At the same time admitting his miraculous birth, *ἐκ παθέρων*. (S. Athan., *Contra Apollin.*, i. 3.)

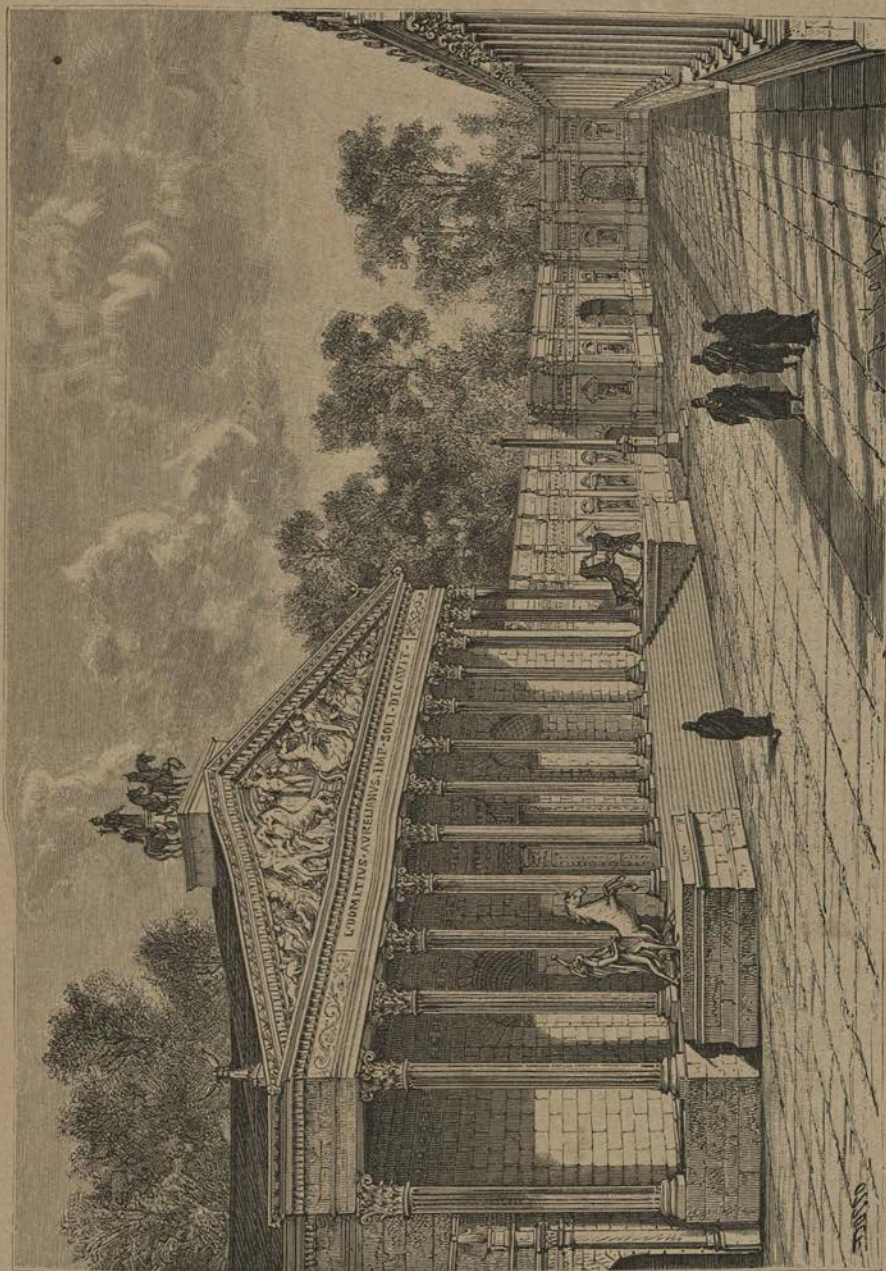
by the Jews: "I am not a judge of these matters."¹ The brave and honest soldier whose history we write had discovered for himself this admirable truth, which so many emperors have despised and still despise.² He at once reaped the fruit of it. The bishop's friends had been, like Paul himself, the queen's partisans; Aurelian punished them indirectly, and at the same time he conciliated the Christian community, numerous in that great city.

An attempt has been made to see in the response of the emperor an acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman See. It was natural that Aurelian, having to decide a point of doctrine between Christians, should address himself to the metropolitan bishops, and should constitute the heads of the Christian communities of Italy arbitrators of the dispute, without attaching other importance to the affair. His judgment, nevertheless, constituted an extremely useful precedent for the pontifical authority.

Affairs being regulated at Antioch, Aurelian set out in pursuit of the enemy. He came up with their rear-guard not far from Chalcis, and dislodged it from a height where it had been posted. The Palmyrenes made no further halt till they came under the walls of Emesa; here Zenobia had gathered 70,000 men, resting on a securely fortified place, and having in front of them a wide plain suited for cavalry movements. The battle this time was desperate. In the one army, the ancient renown of Rome, in the other, the new fame of Palmyra, fired the hearts of all. For a moment Aurelian had reason to fear that his soldiers might give way before the shock; his cavalry was almost destroyed, but a vigorous charge, which he led in person against the centre of the too extended line of the enemy, decided the victory. It had been so dearly bought, however, that the Romans were not in a condition to pursue the vanquished. In the heat of the combat Aurelian had vowed a temple to the Sun, and it was related afterwards that the god himself had been seen in the midst of the legions, restoring their disordered lines. The Sun was the great divinity of Palmyra, he had therefore abandoned his people;

¹ See vol. iv. p. 57.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vii. 27 and 29. The synodal letter is quoted by Eusebius. It contains, as was customary, many recriminations, true or false, against the bishop on the subject of his morals. Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. 109-117) enumerates three synods of Antioch on this affair, but he is unable to give the date of the second, and we do not mention it.



The Temple of the Sun at Rome. Restoration by Gerhard, *École des Beaux-Arts.*

but the gods are always on the side of the heavy battalions, and, with a sentiment made up both of pride and humility, the victors took pleasure in transforming into divine assistance the aid which they had found in their own courage.¹

In a council of war held by Zenobia at Emesa it had been decided to fall back upon Palmyra. It was confidently believed that the heavy Roman army could not traverse "the thirsty land," or at least that it would live there with difficulty, exposed as it would be to attacks from the nomads. The "Syrian robbers," as Vopiscus calls them, did, in fact, much harm to the Romans, but did not hinder them from arriving before the desert capital. It was surrounded by a deep moat and a wall covered with innumerable machines of war, which sent off an incessant shower of arrows, darts, and flames.² The emperor had not expected a defence so determined. On arriving in sight of the city, he wrote to the queen: "Aurelian, emperor of the Roman world, and conqueror of the East, to Zenobia and those who are engaged in her cause. You ought to have done willingly that which I order in this letter. I command you to surrender, and I promise to spare your lives. You, Zenobia, will withdraw with your family into a place which I shall indicate to you, by the advice of the honourable senate. You will surrender to the Roman treasury all that you possess of precious stones, gold, silver, silk, horses, and camels. The Palmyrenes will preserve their rights."³

The reply was no less proud: "Zenobia, queen of the East. No person has ever dared to demand what your letter asks. You wish me to surrender myself, as if you did not know that queen Cleopatra preferred to die rather than owe her life to a master. I am momentarily expecting assistance from the Persians; the Saracens and Armenians are on my side. The Syrian robbers have defeated your army, Aurelian; what then will be the case when we have received the reinforcements which are coming to us from all sides? You will then cease this proud tone with which you demand my submission, as if your arms were everywhere victorious."⁴

¹ See in Zosimus (i. 57-8) the numerous oracles made to speak in all the temples of Syria.

² Doubtless employing the bitumen with which the region abounds.

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

After this interchange of haughty language it only remained to storm the city or to reduce it by famine. The Roman army invested the place. Zenobia counted on Persia, but Persia had changed rulers three times in as many years, amidst conspiracies of the nobles and religious quarrels agitating the people. Sapor, the conqueror of Valerian, had died in 271. His son Hormisdas, devoted to peace, reigned fourteen months, and his successor, Bahram Varanes, less than four years. Of Hormisdas is related an anecdote worthy of the *Arabian Nights*. Being suspected of



Coin of Bahram or Varahran I.¹

entering into some conspiracy with the satraps, who were discontented at the protracted duration of Sapor's reign (thirty years), the prince cut off his hand and sent it to his father as a sign of his fidelity. It was contrary to custom that a person in any way mutilated should succeed to the throne,

but Sapor, to honour his son's heroism, bequeathed to him the royal authority. This legend has preserved to us the memory of Hormisdas: at Ram Hoormuz, which he built, the Persians still show an orange tree which is said to have been planted by him, and is an object of veneration to them.²

Bahram was on the Persian throne when Aurelian appeared before Palmyra. But the kingdom was agitated by the preaching of Manes, who sought to blend in one the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster. The people, and even the court, were divided between the old and the new doctrines. Sapor had banished the sectary; Hormisdas favoured him. The magi, anxious for their authority, succeeded in re-establishing their influence over the mind of Bahram, who condemned Manes to be flayed alive, and was shortly after himself assassinated by a partisan of the reformer. This double tragedy came later than the siege of Palmyra; but these domestic dissensions explain the reserved attitude of those

¹ Legend: *The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Varahran, king of kings, of Iran and Turan, celestial germ of the gods*, around the head of the king. On the reverse: *The divine Varahran*: in the centre, a pyre; on the left, Varahran, standing; at the right, another figure. (Silver coin.)

² Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 100.

who had but recently held a Roman emperor in captivity. They contented themselves with sending some slight reinforcements to Palmyra, which were, however, intercepted on the way. In respect to Armenia, we have already indicated the reasons which made the friendship of Rome indispensable; as for the Arabs and the Saracens, they were either bought or intimidated, and but little gold and little strength was needed for either.

Zenobia, then, stood alone. When she knew that she could no longer count on those whom she believed her allies, and when



Ruins of the Temple of Diana at Palmyra.

she saw her provisions rapidly decreasing, she resolved to escape to the Persians and endeavour to persuade them to make a vigorous effort while her warriors still held out. Mounted on a rapid dromedary, she made her way to the Euphrates, and was nearly at its bank when the horsemen who had been sent in her pursuit came up with her. This sad news caused great confusion in Palmyra. Some were disposed to prolong the defence, but the larger number threw down their arms and opened the gates. Aurelian made no change in the terms he had offered at first; he treated the city with mildness, left it in undisturbed possession of its rights, and contented himself with taking the treasures of Zenobia.

Returning to Emesa, where, from the resources of a rich province the troops could compensate themselves for the privations they had lately suffered, the emperor constituted a tribunal to judge Zenobia and her ministers. In her first interview with Aurelian, she asserted herself as proudly as ever. "How dared



Gate of Zenobia's Palace. (Actual Condition.)

you," he said, "insult the majesty of the Roman emperors?" And she replied: "I acknowledge you as an emperor, since you are able to conquer; but the Gallieni, the Aureoli, and the rest, were not emperors." The compliment was not excessive. It is said, however, that before the tribunal she basely threw upon her councillors the responsibility of the war. This is probably a calumny of the victors or a clever invention of Aurelian. The soldiers were eager for blood, and he had determined not to put

the queen to death, for he proposed to have this second Cleopatra as an ornament to his triumph. The judges made it their plan to find only the ministers guilty, and these persons were put to death, among them Longinus, who met his fate with the serenity of a sage (273).

The fall of the queen of the East produced a great impression; and the desertion of all her allies proved the fear which the resuscitated Empire inspired. Aurelian therefore had quitted Syria with a mind freed from anxiety, and had traversed Asia



Ruins of the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra.

Minor, and even a portion of Thrace, when the news came to him that the Palmyrenes were again in arms, that the Roman garrison and its commander Sandarion had been murdered, and that, finally, one Antiochus had been proclaimed emperor.¹ Palmyra had not been willing to submit to falling back from her rank as an imperial city to the condition of a mere trading mart. She had for a moment drunk of the cup of grandeur, and was intoxicated by it still, and in her dreams there returned perpetually the image of her caravan leaders made Roman Cæsars. The act of folly which she had just now committed was cruelly expiated. Aurelian's anger was terrible; his severity in Rome had been already manifested, and at Palmyra, as he had been more clement,

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31 : cf. Zosimus, i. 60-61.

he was now even more pitiless. We know nothing of the expedition to which he committed his vengeance, but a letter shows that it was, as it were, the execution of an entire people. "Aurelian Augustus to Ceionius Bassus. Let the soldiers use their swords no longer: enough Palmyrenes have been killed. We have not even



The Dragon Bearer.
(Bas-relief of the Trajan Column.)

spared mothers; we have slain children and old men, and put to death the inhabitants of the country. To whom shall we now leave the country and the city? It is proper to spare the few who remain, and believe them corrected by the sight of so much punishment. I desire that the temple of the Sun, pillaged by the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, by the standard-bearers, by the dragon-bearer,¹ and by the trumpeters, be restored as it was. You have in the treasures of Zenobia 300 pounds weight of gold; you have also 1,800 pounds of silver,

obtained from the possessions of the Palmyrenes, and you have also the royal jewels. Employ all this in the ornamentation of the temple; you will thus do a thing agreeable to the immortal gods and to me. I will write to the senate to send a pontiff to make the dedication of the temple."²

Palmyra never rose after this blow. The families who had made her fortune doubtless perished in the massacre, and of the

¹ The soldier who bore the standard representing a dragon's head, terminated by a red streamer, which in the wind resembled the tortuous folds of the serpent. Cf. Treb. Pollio, *Gall.*, 8, and Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12: . . . *purpureum signum draconis summitati haste longioris aptatum*. It seems to have resembled a Chinese flag.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 31.

inhabitants who survived none were able to take their place. Commerce became used to other routes; the sand invaded this depopulated oasis, and for ten centuries the world knew not even the place where the queen of the East had built her palaces of marble; but a spring which still flows has preserved, perhaps, through the ages the name of him who made this vast desolation.¹

After the tragedy of Emesa, Aurelian had hastened his



Ruins of the Palace of Zenobia.

return to Europe without stopping in Egypt, whence a man as valiant as himself had expelled the Palmyrenes. Believing this country pacified, he had not thought it advisable to appear there; but when it was understood that he was on his way to Gaul, a merchant enriched by traffic in the papyrus of Egypt and the commodities of India, Firmus, a Greek, whom the political fortunes of the sheiks of Palmyra had dazzled, undertook to play their rôle. He secured the aid of Blemyes and of the Saracens, stirred up Alexandria, ever ready for riots, and detained the corn-bearing fleet, which was a serious matter. He had assumed the purple at the moment when Palmyra revolted, whence it may be concluded

¹ The *Ain Ournus*, to be seen near Palmyra. It has been conjectured that *Ournus* is an altered abbreviation of Aurelianus. (*Récit. de Fatalla Sayeghri*, discovered by Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, ii. 382.)

that the two movements were concerted.¹ Aurelian had no difficulty in confining the usurper within one of the four quarters of Alexandria, the Bruchium, which was separated by a wall from the rest of the city, and where Cæsar so long braved all the forces of Egypt. There stood the palace of the Ptolemies, the museum, which a long portico, made of the most precious marble, connected with the royal residence, and the palace of the Cæsars, built in the place where once stood the two obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles.² Aurelian did not undertake to storm this peculiar position; but famine eventually delivered Firmus into his hands, and he caused the rebel to be crucified. He then dismantled the Bruchium, the palace of the kings, and all that could serve as protection in case of a new disturbance—so he sought not to leave the provisioning of Rome at the mercy of this seditious city.³ This time at least his anger was directed towards the city itself rather than its inhabitants;⁴ but he augmented by one-twelfth the frumentary tax of Egypt, and laid upon the country a new annual tribute, namely, the sending to Rome of a certain quantity of glass, papyrus, linen, hemp, and other products of the country.⁵

Zenobia being a captive, "the robber Firmus" having been crucified, and the populace of Alexandria restrained by a Roman garrison, order began to be restored throughout the East, which had twice within a few months been overrun by a great and victorious army. From every side came in embassies, protestations of friendship, and presents, among other things, as a gift from

¹ The *Augustan History* does not say this, but the narrative of Vopiscus is extremely confused. I give what is probable, but not certain. A few words in the letter of Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the defeat of Firmus would lead us to suppose that the subjection of Egypt had been preceded by that of the Gauls: . . . *pacato toto orbe terrarum* (Vopiscus, *Firm.*, 5); but other information furnished by the *Augustan History*, by Zosimus (i. 61), by medals, and by the course of events, is contrary to this view. There are coins of the fifth year of the reign of Tetricus, that is to say, 272-3.

² In respect to this temple of the Cæsars, constructed in the time of Augustus, see *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, 1878, p. 175.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 16. See vol. v. p. 521, the letter written by Aurelian to the senate and the Roman people after the fall of Firmus.

⁴ He permitted the women and children and the old men to go out of the Bruchium. At least, Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 32) relates this fact on the authority of Anatolius, an eye-witness, who later was the bishop of Laodicea, but he does not name Aurelian, and as he represents Anatolius as after this attending the Council of Antioch, held to examine Paul of Samosata, we perhaps ought to place this event in the time of Claudius, when Probus expelled the Palmyrenes from Alexandria and the Delta.

⁵ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 44.

the king of Persia, a purple mantle which seems to have been the predecessor of our Indian cashmeres.¹ Nothing therefore detained Aurelian longer in this part of the Empire, and he was at liberty to turn his attention at last towards the Western provinces, where Tetricus had been reigning for more than five years.²

Victorina, "the mother of the camps," was dead,³ and her resolute soul no longer sustained the courage of the gentle senator whom she had made emperor of Gaul. Established at Bordeaux, so that he need not be disturbed by the noise on the frontier and the outcries of the legions, he waited till Aurelian should come to relieve him of his imperial functions. Medals represent him wearing, not the cuirass, but the toga, and bearing in one hand a sceptre and in the other a cornucopia. When, in receiving their pay the soldiers beheld the emperor represented on the coin with the attributes of peace and a legend signifying that moderation in success makes a ruler great, they must have considered this peaceful personage as unworthy to have the command of men. They retained him, however; their pride was gratified in maintaining this Gallic empire which they had created. They and their chiefs had their entire lives and all their interests in these provinces, and they said to each other that Tetricus would never disturb their tranquil existence by leading them to the opposite end of the Empire to fight with Persians or Blemyes. Moreover, Gaul was their domain also; they conducted themselves as masters there with all the insolence of a soldiery commanding its officers. To resist their demands, Autun closed its gates; they besieged the city for seven months, and Tetricus made no attempt to end this strange war. Claudius, to whom Autun appealed, was too much occupied by the Goths to listen to these far off complaints; the unhappy city was sacked,⁴ and many of its citizens perished (269). One of them

¹ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 29.

² See de Boze, *Tetricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. pp. 515 *et seq.* Numerous medals of this emperor bear the words: *ubertas, letitia, felicitas publica*, and milestones prove that he repaired the roads in Gaul in order to facilitate commerce.

³ Certain accounts represent her as having been put to death by Tetricus, which is improbable. He instituted solemn funeral ceremonies in her honour and decreed her apotheosis, *consecratio*.

⁴ Eumenes (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 4: *Gratiarum actio Constantino*, and *pro Restaur. scholis*, 14) represents certain Bagaudes or insurgent peasants as mingled with these soldiers, *latrocinium Bagaudicæ rebellionis*.

fled as far as to the foot of the Pyrenees, to Tarbes, "which the Adour traverses, and it hears afar the roar of angry Ocean;" the fugitive married there, and was the ancestor of the poet Ausonius, one of the last literary reputations of the Empire.¹ Other cities were of the same mind with Autun; an inscription at Barcelona attests the fidelity of this city to Claudius and to the Empire.²

The selfish devotion of the Gallic legions did not at all re-assure their emperor. We have reason to believe that he sought



Elephants attached to a Chariot and bearing a Tower.³

the confidence of Claudius by secret messages,⁴ and we know that, quoting Virgil, he wrote to Aurelian: "Invincible hero, deliver me from these miscreants."⁵ An understanding was readily established between two men, one of whom had no wish for a colleague, while the other was eager to be again a subject. When the armies met near Châlons-sur-Marne, Tetricus communicated his order of battle to Aurelian, and at the moment when the action began, deserted his troops, who at once disbanded.⁶ The whole Empire

¹ Auson., *Parent.*, 4. The poet states this flight as occurring under Victorinus.

² Orelli, No. 1,020.

³ Engraved stone. (*La Chausse, Recueil*, etc., ii, pl. 129.)

⁴ See p. 474.

⁵ *Eripe me his, invicte, malis* (words of Palinurus in the *Aeneid*, vi. 265).

⁶ Aur. Victor, *de Coss.*, 35.

was united again under a single chief (274); it was now twenty-one years since this had been the situation.

Aurelian celebrated the great event by a triumph, where he assayed to surpass in magnificence those ancient solemnities which Rome had not for a long time seen.¹ Slowly there passed under the eyes of the dazzled crowd the innumerable wreaths of gold offered by the Roman cities; twenty elephants and giraffes, tamed animals; the chariot of a Gothic king drawn by four stags, that of the queen of Palmyra made of chased gold and silver and gleaming with a thousand gems; pictures representing the battles won, the cities taken, and representations of conquered nations.

Then followed the senate, the magistrates, and the pontiffs; the people in white togas, and the colleges or corporations, preceded by their banners; the army with its standards; the *cataphractarii* with their heavy armour, and the soldiers with their military decorations;



The Elder Tetricus
on Horseback.
(Gold Coin.)



The Younger Tetricus.²

lastly, 800 pair of gladiators, followed by the crowd of captives of all nations adjacent to the Empire, some in chains, others bearing the captured spoils, and among them women of Gothic race who had been taken fighting among their fathers and husbands. But all eyes were fixed upon Tetricus and his son, who walked clad in the scarlet chlamys and wearing the Gallic braccæ, that all might recognize the emperors of Gaul. Zenobia followed them laden with precious stones, a gold chain on her feet, another on her hands, a third about her neck; and, as a last insult, it was a Persian buffoon who held up these chains—whose weight would have overwhelmed her—to recall to the fallen queen in what a vain hope she had trusted. Aurelian brutally enjoyed his victory. More clement, however, than Marius and Cæsar, he did not make

¹ Orosius (vii. 9) enumerates, from Romulus to Vespasian, 320 triumphs, and Pitiscus (*Lexic. Ant.*, s. v. *Triumphus*) has made out only thirty from Vespasian to Belisarius, who celebrated the last of them.

² C. PIVS ESUVIVS TETRICVS CAES. Bust of the young Tetricus, bare-headed, from a bronze medallion found on the banks of the Rhône at Andancette, the ancient *Figlinæ*. (Museum of Grenoble. J. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv. No. 4.)

the fatal sign upon the road as he went up to the Capitol, which would have been the order to conduct the captives to the Tullianum, whither Jugurtha had preceded Vercingetorix.¹

The pageant being ended, he gave back to Tetricus his honours, bestowed upon him a palace on the Cælian Mount, and appointed him governor of Lucania,² telling him it was better to rule an Italian province than to reign on the other side of the Alps, which the ex-Augustus did not contradict. The emperor often called Tetricus his colleague, sometimes his comrade-in-arms, and even emperor, and these distinctions authorized the senate after the death of Aurelian to place Tetricus among the *divi*.³ Vercingetorix ended otherwise; but he had lived differently.

To Zenobia Aurelian also gave a villa near Tibur, in the neighbourhood of that of Hadrian. She lived there like a Roman lady of rank; her daughters married into the most illustrious houses, and 200 years later some of the nobles of Rome called themselves descendants of the queen of Palmyra; among them we know of one who was a contemporary of S. Ambrose, S. Zenobius, bishop of Florence.⁴

The triumph had been the festival of the ruler; later the people had theirs: scenic representations, great hunts, mock sea-fights, combats between gladiators, and gratuitous distributions. Aurelian decided that, for the future, citizens should receive every day a loaf of wheat bread and a piece of pork. All distributions were increased by an ounce, that is to say, a twelfth. He even formed the design of buying lands in Etruria and establishing a vast vineyard, so that he could give the people a measure of wine,

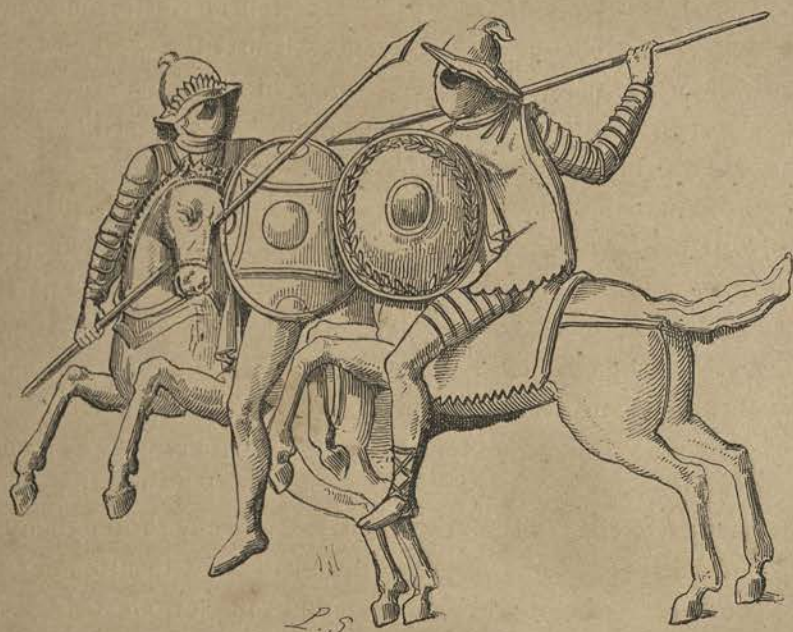
¹ It has been asserted that the arch of triumph whose remains are seen at Besançon was erected on occasion of this pageant.

² Treb. Pollio (*Tyr. trig.*, 23) says "of all peninsular Italy." It is probable that we ought to read *corrector Italiae regionis Lucaniae*, as in the case of Postumius Titianus, consul in 301, who was *corrector Italiae regionis Transpadanae* (*C. I. L.*, vi. 1,418, 1,419). Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ii. 416) formed out of the eleven *regiones* of Augustus in Italy eight provinces, which Diocletian retained.

³ This at least seems to be inferable from the coins of Tetricus bearing the word *consecratio*. (Cohen, v. 171.) Cf. de Boze, *Hist. de Tétricus*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxvi. p. 521. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 457) differs from this opinion.

⁴ Zosimus mentions only a son of Zenobia, brought with her to Rome, but does not give his name, and says that the other captives were drowned in the Bosphorus. What was the end of Waballath is not known. Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 493) supposes that Aurelian gave him a principality in Syria.

as he did a measure of oil, daily. A counsellor, wiser than the emperor, opposed this project. "After this," said the prætorian prefect, "we should be obliged to give them also chickens and geese." Aurelian yielded, but he caused the treasury to offer wine at reduced price, a measure of political economy almost equally objectionable. After food, clothes: he distributed tunics



Gladiators on Horseback. (Pompeii.)

of African linen, and long strips of cloth, "which they might use in the circus, waving them to indicate their approbation."¹

We have to remark here that these largesses to the populace were not an act of base adulation to win their favour. The strength of Aurelian lay in the armies; it did not depend upon Rome, and in spite of his liberality towards the Romans he was very indifferent as to their good or ill will.

At Emesa Aurelian had come upon his mother's god, and he had attributed his victory to the Sun. The extravagances of Elagabalus had not brought this divinity into disfavour; it was held in great honour, and this was natural, for, as the pagan world

¹ *quibus uteretur populus ad favorem* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 47). Formerly it had been a corner of the toga that was waved in sign of applause. After Aurelian's time the distribution of mere corn was certainly resumed. Theodoric gave 120,000 modii annually. Cf. Hirschfeld, pp. 20-21.

was tending more and more to a belief in the divine unity, the Sun, shedding light, heat, and life through all nature, seemed the author of these gifts.¹ Aurelian had offered stately sacrifices to the Sun in Emesa, and he created at Rome a new priesthood in the honour of this deity,² building a temple which was esteemed by contemporaries the most splendid in Rome, and was so



The Sun.³

especially on account of the vast wealth deposited in it, a great quantity of gems and 15,000 pounds weight of gold; but for fear of the jealousy of the other gods, Aurelian offered gifts in the temple of each.

So many prodigalities, not to speak of the money given to the people and the soldiers, or of the expense for the fortifications of Rome, for the cleansing of the Tiber, for the quays which he constructed at

certain points along the river, for the construction of thermæ along the right bank, for that of a forum at Ostia, for the increase of the flotilla bringing to Rome the corn of the frumentary provinces, compel us to admit that the successful wars which he had carried on placed great resources in his hands. Historians tell us only of the pillage of Palmyra; but Alexandria must have furnished large booty, Antioch, Ancyra, Tyana, the cities of Syria, at that time so prosperous, large ransoms; and Gaul, like Egypt, certainly paid for its return into the Empire by an increase in the taxes.

¹ This was Pliny's faith (*Hist. nat.*, ii. 4), a philosopher who did not believe in many things.

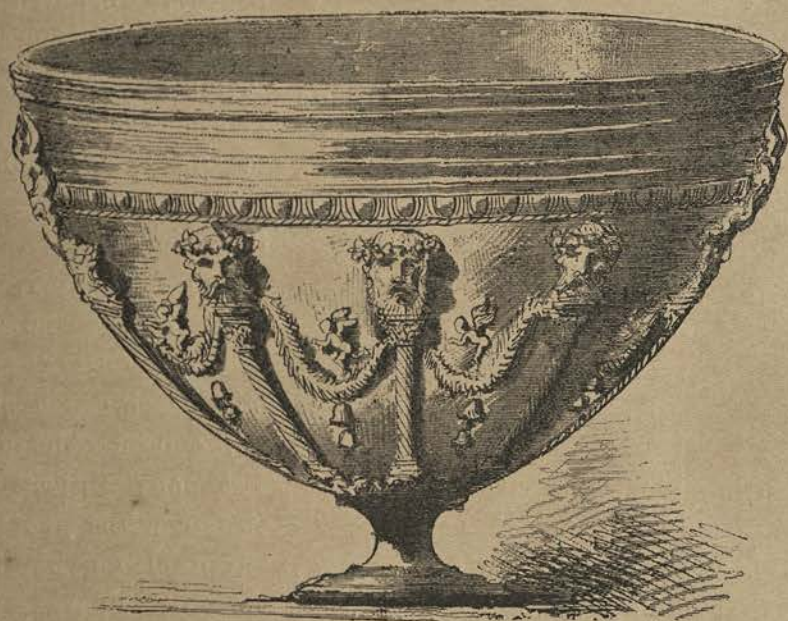
² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 35.

³ Marble medallion representing in relief the masque of the Sun, according to the type of the Rhodian coins. (Roman Sculpture in the Museum of the Louvre; Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpt. ant.*, etc., No. 421.)

Aurelian's economy procured him other resources. He lived simply, and required this of the persons around him. He obliged his slaves to keep the modest habits they had before his accession, and the empress to superintend the affairs of the palace; he refused her a silk mantle because at this time that material was worth its weight in gold; and he made his friends presents which gave them comfort but not wealth, that envy might not be excited against them.¹ He himself never had a silver vase weighing over thirty pounds; the gods came into possession of the presents that were made him: all the magnificent objects displayed at his triumph were carried



The Empress
Severina, Wife of
Aurelian.²



Silver Vase from the Hildesheim Treasure. (Reproduction in the Museum of Cluny.)

into the temples, as in the old days of republican virtue, to serve as resources in case of extreme peril.

Sumptuary laws were a Roman malady, and Aurelian did not fail to establish many.³ Thus, to guard against a scarcity of the precious metals, he forbade the use of gold on furniture and

¹ . . . *divitiarum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45).

² SEVERINA AUG(usta). Diademed bust of the empress placed on a crescent. (Coin of copper alloy, Antoninianus of the weight of 4.05.)

³ Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 45-6. Cf. Lamprid., *Elagabalus*, 4. He limited the number of eunuchs, etc.

garments. His biographer goes so far as to assert that he renewed the women's senate to whom Elagabalus had given the duty of regulating the matrons' toilettes, a puerility which this soldier would never have copied from the effeminate Syrian. But he had displayed great pomp in religious solemnities, appearing crowned and in garments covered with gold and precious stones. This Oriental luxury was the

Aurelian.¹

fashion of the day, reappearing even in the works of art whose decline it marks, and Diocletian carried it much further. These two emperors believed they should be more respected if an imposing ceremonial marked more plainly to the eye the distance between the subject and the ruler.

This luxury, often regarded as necessary, and really so in a certain social condition, has never been able to protect any others than those who protected themselves by their personal valour, or whom the faith of nations enveloped with a sure though invisible protection. From this point of view, Aurelian could

Fighting Hero found near Vienne, in Dauphiné.²

have done without it, for he had the people and the troops on

¹ DEO ET DOMINO NATO AVRELIANO. Radiate head of the emperor. (Small bronze.)

² *Gazette archéol.*, 1876. Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 826, No. 2,083 B) has given this statue the name of Deiphobus.

his side; but an absolute ruler is never secure against conspiracies, and one was shortly to be formed among those immediately about him.

The magnificent entertainment which he had just given the Romans preceded his death by only a few months.

He employed this time in consolidating the work of restoration which he had pursued so vigorously for the five years preceding. A sedition in Gaul called him into that country.¹ It is not known what he did there. We hear of a success of Probus over the Franks, near the mouths of the Rhine, and of a victory gained over the Alemanni near Vindonissa (Windisch) by Constantius Chlorus, on the day when his son Constantine was born. Later traditions attribute to him the reconstruction of Dijon and of Genabum, which seems to have taken his name, *Civitas Aurelianorum*. These were two important positions for commerce and war: at Orleans, the geographic centre of Gaul, ended the principal military roads of the country, and Dijon was the great station between the valley of the Rhone and that of the Seine. Forum Julii and the Viennese province owed him perhaps some favour; inscriptions found there celebrate the Restorer of the World.



Reverse of a Coin
(Small Bronze) of
Aurelian, bearing
the Legend:
GENIUS ILLYR.

Aurelian doubtless revisited the banks of the Rhine, the theatre of his earliest successes; then he repaired to the Upper Danube, for we find him afterwards in Vindelicia and Illyricum. He wished personally to inspect this frontier lately so disturbed, and where it was well from time to time to exhibit the imperial crown, especially when it was worn by a conqueror. Aurelian had the intention of doing more than this, and was about to go as far Ctesiphon for the purpose of visiting upon the allies of Zenobia the injuries they had done the Empire, but he was stopped by a conspiracy before reaching Byzantium.

Ecclesiastical authors assert that divine justice put a stop to his evil designs against the Church.² The emperor's conduct in

¹ Zonaras, xii. 27.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* vii. 30, and Zonaras, xii. 27. In book viii. chap. iv., Eusebius says that, from the time of Decius and Valerian until the last years of Diocletian, the devil slept,

the affair of Paul of Samosata, the peace which the Christians enjoyed during his reign, forbid us to believe that he was proposing to undertake a persecution, and to explain his death it is not necessary to employ a method which in all ages has been used to explain sudden catastrophes. Following the example of Septimius Severus, whom he seems to have taken for a model, he maintained discipline in the administration as well as in the army; he kept watch over the imperial agents in the provinces, and punished extortioners rigorously, even going so far as to put them to death by crucifixion. Having cause for displeasure against one of his secretaries, Mnesticus, he threatened him with chastisement. The freedman knew that the emperor spoke no idle words; he counterfeited Aurelian's handwriting, prepared a list of persons known to be out of favour, placing his own name on the list to make it the more credible, and exhibited the list to the persons whose names were on it as an order of death which he had discovered and seized. To escape from the punishment which they believed impending over them, these persons conspired and assassinated Aurelian (January or March, 275). He was but sixty-one years of age, and had reigned five years.

During the reign of Aurelian there was a sedition of a peculiar character. We have seen¹ how greatly in these times the gold and silver coins had been altered. The master of the Roman mints, Felicissimus, had formed the idea of sharing in the profits which the emperors believed they were making by this scandalous operation. Very little gold and silver was furnished him for the coin he had to make; he put into it even less, and doubtless associated with himself as sharers in the profits those who were employed under him. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why a sedition should have broken out when Aurelian sought to bring this abuse to an end.² The revolt was formidable; the manufacturers

and Sulpicius Severus, who lived in Gaul, has no knowledge of the great persecution which has been placed in Aurelian's reign.

¹ pp. 385 et seq.

² *monetæ opifices qui, quum, auctore Felicissimo rationali, nummariam notam corrossissent, penæ metu bellum fecerant* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 35). Cf. Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 38. The procurator monetæ of equestrian rank commanded a whole army of workmen. Upon this organization, see *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. ix. p. 218; Fr. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 251; and Cuq, the *Examinator per Italiam*, p. 36.

interested in the trade in precious metals, the silversmiths and goldsmiths, the bankers and all who handled silver, threatened with reforms which were likely to unsettle the market, appear to have made common cause with the *employés* of the mint, and the people, as usual, took part in the quarrel, through hatred of the police. A battle actually took place in Rome, on the Cælian hill, and 7,000 soldiers perished in it, which implies great carnage among the rebels.

We are very ignorant in respect to this affair.¹ Was the senate concerned in it? Possibly, for old authors mention the execution of many senators without telling us the cause of it, and the senate lost on that occasion the right it had possessed since the time of Augustus to coin bronze money. At least we find no longer, after the reign of Aurelian, the letters S. C. on coins—a proof that the senatorial mints were united after this time to those of the emperor.² The biographer of Aurelian adds that the emperor afterwards coined better money and withdrew the false from circulation. Aurelian had not time to carry to completion this double work, which Tacitus took up after him,³ and to which their successors devoted much care, without completing it until the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine.

These measures prove the resolution of Aurelian to introduce order everywhere. The same spirit manifests itself in other acts. He ordered to be burned in Trajan's forum, as Hadrian had done before him, the registers containing the accounts of the debtors of the state—bad debts, and for the most part irrecoverable, but holding over a number of private individuals the perpetual fear of a judicial execution. The lodging of information against those violating the fiscal laws was forbidden. The *quadruplatores*, always so numerous at Rome, did not disappear at once, but their odious

¹ The letter of Aurelian to the Roman people, after the defeat of Firmus (see vol. v. p. 521) gives reason to suppose that the senate, the knights, the people, and the prætorians were not harmonious among themselves, since the emperor recommends concord to them all.

² The *triumviri monetales* disappeared at the same time; the last known, with certain date, was consul in 225. (Wilmanns, 1, 211.)

³ . . . *cavit* (Tacitus) *ut si quis argento publice privatimque æs miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis æri plumbum, capitale esset cum bonorum proscriptione* (Vopiscus, Tac., 9). From this attempt resulted a little more regularity in the coinage. The Antoniniani of Aurelian, of Tacitus, and of Claudius II. are somewhat more valuable than those of their predecessors. Cf. Mommsen, *Geschichte des röm. Münz.*, iii. p. 96.

trade ceased to be encouraged. It cannot be that to fill his treasury the author of these measures could have put to death senators guilty only of wealth.

Notwithstanding, Aurelian is accused of cruelty, and in the fourth century this reproach already rested upon his memory. Assuredly he was not a mild ruler; but the times were not suited for mild government, and in a monarch responsible for the tranquillity of an empire, indulgence towards the guilty was treason towards the innocent. To confirm the reproaches made against him, we need to have the names and number of the victims, the motives or the pretexts of their condemnation; for we have learned in the course of this history, from more than one instance, how little remains of these vague and often contradictory accusations when examined narrowly. Vopiscus, who had conversed with contemporaries of the emperor whose memoir he writes, dares not affirm anything. "It is said," he relates, "that to rid himself of many senators he imputed to them designs of revolt;" but according to John of Antioch and Suidas some men of rank were condemned on the revelations of Zenobia, which gives us reason to think that during the war in the East plots had been formed at Rome, as in the time of Severus during the war in Gaul.¹ One fact justifies our hesitations. It is certain that a catastrophe took place in the imperial family, one member of it being condemned to death. Who was this person? Some say the niece and others the nephew of Aurelian; a third party maintains that both perished, and still others assert that the person condemned was the daughter-in-law of the emperor.² If this last story be the true one, it would seem that Aurelian, by this execution, vindicated the honour of his house. In any case, it was a domestic tragedy, of which the cause must have been serious, Aurelian not being one of those madmen who, for a caprice, stain their household with blood.

Titus is not our ideal of a ruler, and we shall therefore not reproach Aurelian with having chastised offenders like the accomplices of Felicissimus, or promoters of revolution like those who doubtless intrigued with Zenobia. We shall commend him for

¹ We have also seen that Zosimus speaks of many plots, admitting their existence.

² Suidas, s. v. *Aurel.* But another difficulty arises, for, according to Vopiscus, Aurelian had no other children than one daughter.

having given up his freedmen and slaves to the ordinary judge when they were guilty, for the imperial household must be always held strictly in hand, that they should not pursue the numerous means of doing harm which came within their reach; and we shall accept the judgment of the Emperor Julian, who was not inclined to be favourable towards a ruler whose glory eclipsed that of Claudius, the head of his own house. In the *Cæsars*, when Aurelian appears before the Olympian areopagus to be judged, the Sun takes up his defence: "The accused," he says to the gods, "is even with Justice, or you have forgotten my oracle of Delphi: one ought to suffer the woes one has caused others to endure."¹

This judgment seems even too severe; for, at the side of the strict right, Aurelian often placed clemency for those who had gone astray. We have seen him accord pardon to all the inhabitants of Antioch and to the Palmyrenes; we have seen that even after the second revolt he put a stop to the massacre; and at Alexandria he allowed part of those who were besieged to go out from the Bruchium,² although their departure must have permitted the resistance to be prolonged. His conduct in respect to Tetricus, Zenobia, and Antiochus³ contrasts with that of his predecessors, and he contradicted Roman customs even more evidently when he proclaimed an amnesty for political offences.⁴ It was a worthy completion of the restoration of the Empire thus to efface the traces of twenty years of civil wars, during which many more persons had been unfortunate than criminal.

¹ Vopiscus says nearly the same thing (*Aur.*, 37): *Aurelianus fuit princeps necessarius magis quam bonus.*

² See p. 494, n. 4, which explains that this trait of clemency was not perhaps Aurelian's.

³ Antiochus is that Palmyrene Cæsar "whom he sent away," says Zosimus, "not deigning to punish."

⁴ *Amnestia sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est* (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 39).

CHAPTER XCVIII.

TACITUS, PROBUS, AND CARUS (275-284 A.D.).

I.—AN ATTEMPT AT A SENATORIAL RESTORATION; TACITUS AND FLORIANUS (25TH SEPTEMBER, 275, TO JULY, 276).

THE death of Aurelian was followed by a strange situation: for six months the Empire remained without a head. He had restored order with so vigorous a hand that all things went on as if he were still alive: the magistrates remained in the exercise of their functions; the people in their respective occupations; and, strangest of all, the army in a state of subordination. This peace during a long interregnum—the first and only one that the Empire ever knew—speaks more in praise of Aurelian than all our eulogies. At last men recognized in him the restorer of the Empire, the ruler who had put an end to usurpations, had pacified the provinces, had given back their military honour to the legions and to Rome its grandeur. There was for the moment something like a new birth of public spirit and patriotism. The army, ashamed that it had not been able to preserve its illustrious chief from a vulgar conspiracy, punished itself by refusing to exercise the right which seemed to have become its recognized prerogative, namely, that of electing an emperor, and the senate received with amazement the following communication:¹ “The brave and fortunate legions to the senate and people of Rome. The crime of one man and the inconsiderateness of many have deprived us of our late emperor Aurelian; you, whose paternal cares direct the state, honoured men, deign to place this emperor among the number of the gods, and to designate the successor whom you judge most worthy of the imperial purple; none of those whose crime or whose misfortune has caused our loss shall reign over us.”

¹ By letter (Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 41), or by a deputation from the army (*Aur. Victor*).

The Conscript Father to whom his rank gave the right of expressing his opinion first, an old ex-consul by name Tacitus,¹ believed to be a descendant of the great historian, proposed to gratify the wish of the legions in respect to the honours to be decreed to the dead emperor, and Aurelian was deified upon the spot; but in the matter of the second request, the prudent senator knew that to yield to it would be dangerous for the man whom the senate should choose, perhaps even for the senate itself, since the soldiers would not long maintain this attitude of repentance and humility. The choice was therefore sent back again to the army, but the latter persisted in its determination—a way of commanding under a new form.

A few patriotic generals—to whom, moreover, the number of imperial deaths in so few years made it evident that the purple was likely to change quickly into a shroud—had been the determining agents in this conduct of the army, and now made the soldiery persevere in it. The senators were even less covetous of this perilous honour. The one among them who was most likely to be chosen, by reason of his name, his honours, and his fortune²—Tacitus—had taken shelter, after the session of the senate, in one of his villas in Campania. The consul's order convoking the assembly for the 25th of September drew him reluctantly thence. In his address the consul Gordianus spoke with some discreet doubt of the persevering moderation of the soldiers: "Let us give a leader to the armies," he said; and he prudently added: "Either they will accept him whom you have chosen or they will name another." He then called attention to the barbaric world, which lay around the Empire, making new efforts to break into it; Persia, so lately threatened by Aurelian, perhaps meditating an attack; the Syrians, a fickle race, ready to guide her squadrons across the provinces; the Egyptian and Illyrian frontiers endangered; the Rhine crossed by the Franks, and once flourishing Gallic cities now in ashes. "We need an emperor," he

¹ Upon coins and inscriptions he is called M. Claudius Tacitus.

² It seems impossible to accept the statement in the *Augustan History* with respect to the fortune of Tacitus, *quod habuit in redditibus, sestertium bis milies octingenties* (*Tac.*, 10); but we are not able to substitute another. It is certain, from what afterwards occurred, that this fortune was immense.

exclaimed; and turning to Tacitus, with all the other senators, he added: "It is you whom we require." Vainly did the old man of seventy-five plead his age, his enfeebled health, and his pacific tastes. "You need a soldier," he said, "and you choose me, who am hardly able to fill the peaceful office of senator; the very unanimity of your choice will be fatal to me." But the senators would not listen to him; acclamations twenty or thirty times repeated hailed him emperor; and the report of this session of the senate, which, to some, seemed to open a new era, was written according to custom on an ivory tablet, which the new Augustus signed, his soul filled with sad presentiments.¹

No doubt it was an error to give the Empire a chief like this; and since, as a result of the decree of Gallienus,² there could be found in the senate no bold soldier, it would have been the proper course to seek one in the armies. Probus, Carus, Diocletian, had none of them been concerned at all in the murder of Aurelian, and the army would have been grateful to have its momentary disinterestedness applauded without such action on the part of the senate as must cause the soldiery immediately to repent of it. The choice of an eminent soldier made by the senate would have been to seal, at least for a time, a reconciliation between the civil and the military orders. But, living as they did, remote from public affairs, in their idle grandeur and their gilded servitude, the senators had lost their grasp of the actual world, and no man reminded them of the day—which many among them had seen, however—when the soldiers dragged to the Gemoniæ Maximus and Balbinus, and shouted: "These are the senate's emperors!" At first rendered anxious and uneasy by the political rôle which fell to them again, they had ended by resuming their old illusions, and they abandoned themselves to the puerile delight of again grasping a power which they were incapable of retaining.

The ex-consul next in rank to Tacitus, Falconius Nicomachus, reminded the senate of the woes that Rome had suffered under too youthful rulers, which was at once a truth and a flattery; then

¹ Vopiscus (*Tac.*, 5) read this report in the Ulpian library.

² See pp. 337.

addressing himself to Tacitus, whose sons were only boys, Falconius besought him, if the fates should soon snatch him from the state, to choose a successor, not from his own family, but from outside, "for the reason that it would not be right to dispose of the Empire as of a private estate." Falconius meant to say that the electoral power should remain with the senate, and the general opinion was with him. Loud cries of assent were heard from all parts of the senate.

The Conscript Fathers were enraptured at the turn events had taken. In the excess of his joy and of his hopes, one of them wrote to a less enthusiastic colleague: "Emerge from your indolence; come forth from your retreat at Baïæ or Puteoli. Give yourself back to the city, the senate. Rome flourishes, and with Rome, the whole state. Let us give a thousand thanks to the army, which is a truly Roman army. One just authority, that object of all our desires, is at last re-established. We receive appeals, we appoint emperors, we make kings. Can we not also unmake them? You understand me without further speech; to the wise, a word is enough."¹ This word was repeated by all the writer's colleagues. "I shall rule with and through you," Tacitus had said. When he asked the consulship for his brother Florianus, it was objected that the list was full, and he contented himself with replying: "The senate knows well what ruler it has made." Emperor though he was, the feeble old man was really to the senate only its first member, and it was said openly that the true ruler was now the senate itself.²



The Emperor Tacitus, laurelled.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Official letters made known this restoration of the Roman Republic to the chief cities of the Empire: Milan, Aquileia, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Treves. Two of these we have; the following is the one addressed to the capital of Roman Africa:

"The honourable senate of Rome to the decurions of Carthage:

¹ Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 6 and 7; *Flor.*, 6.

² . . . *ipsum senatum principem factum* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 12).

"Peace and happiness, security and prosperity to the Republic and to the Roman world.

"We have recovered the right of conferring the imperial authority, of appointing the ruler, the Augustus it is to us, therefore, that you will submit affairs of importance. Appeals from proconsular decisions and from all the tribunals of the Empire will be laid before the urban prefect. Your own authority is restored to its former condition, since in recovering its own rights the first body of the Republic protects the rights of others." And men clothed themselves in holiday attire and immolated white victims to thank the gods for the return of the ancient liberty;¹ medals were struck whereon it was promised to this emperor, who already had one foot in the grave, that in due time the *decennalia*² should be celebrated for him. Alas! the election of Tacitus, these ostentatious messages, and these vain promises were the last political act of the Roman Republic.

The prætorians, the people, and the armies accepted the emperor chosen by Rome's former masters,³ and the inhabitants of the Empire swore fidelity to him. All things seemed to go well. But the Alani, seeing the Empire without a leader and defenceless, had invaded Asia Minor, whither the Goths, encamped in the vicinity of the Palus Mæotis, followed them. Tacitus was obliged to journey in haste to the scene of action. In Thrace he presented himself before Aurelian's army, which must have been astonished to see this feeble old man in the place where they had seen so long the martial figure of the iron-handed hero. Accordingly the prætorian prefect essayed by humble words to prevent discontent. "Most virtuous comrades,"⁴ he said, "you have asked the senate to give you an emperor; the very illustrious assembly has obeyed your will and command. It is not fitting for me to say more in the presence of the emperor who will watch over us. Listen to him with the respect that he merits." Tacitus in his turn was extremely modest; he feigned to consider himself

¹ . . . *antiquitatem sibi redditam* (Vopiscus, *Flor.*, 6).

² Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 498.

³ In addressing the prætorians, Tacitus said: *sanctissimi milites*, and in speaking to the plebeians he called them *sacratissimi Quirites*. Oriental bombast extended to all men. Modern Italy has preserved something of it to this day.

⁴ *Sanctissimi commilitones* (Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 8).

the choice of the soldiers, and spoke in fitting terms on the subject of his age, which did not permit him to imitate the great exploits of his predecessors, but would inspire him with wise counsels. "Trajan also was an old man when he came to the Empire, and was called to it by the choice of one individual. To-day it is first by you, most virtuous comrades, by you, who know how to judge the worth of a ruler, and in the second place by the senate, that I have been judged worthy of this title." It was imprudent to evoke in the midst of these troops the grand figure of the conqueror of the Dacians, the Germans, and the Parthian Empire; but the liberal *donativum* which Tacitus paid with his own money made the address seem eloquent.

The barbarians made pretence that they had been summoned by the late emperor under the title of auxiliaries to give help against Persia. Not receiving the pay promised for an expedition which had not been made, they paid themselves with their own hands by the pillage of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia. Bold predatory bands penetrated even into Cilicia before Aurelian had been many months dead. What never-ceasing vigilance was needful to keep in check those innumerable free-booters who prowled around the Empire, and, under Gallienus, had learned all the roads that led into it! Tacitus negotiated, paid, and sent home a part of these barbarians. Others fell under the sword of his soldiers. But the latter were becoming weary of their good conduct. They murdered one of the emperor's kindred whom Tacitus had intrusted with the government of Syria, and after that, to escape punishment, the emperor himself. A six months' reign, and a colossal fortune dissipated in gratifications to the soldiery or abandoned to the state,¹ were what the senate's election had procured for Tacitus and his family.

He was a man of upright character and religious mind: never did he omit to have served in his house the meat of the sacrifices, a sort of communion with the god to whom the sacrifice had been offered. He punished some of the assassins of his predecessor, and it cannot be denied that his intentions were of the best. His biographer attributes to him many statutes, an easy thing; but he

¹ *Patrimonium suum publicavit* (Vopiscus, Tac., 10).

had neither the ability nor had he the time to bring out good results to the state. We owe him, however, very special gratitude: he caused the works of Tacitus to be placed in all the public libraries and ordered that every year ten copies of them should be made. In multiplying thus the copies of the *Annals* and the



M. ANN(ius) FLORIANUS,
crowned with Laurel.
(Bronze Medallion.)

Histories he increased our chance that they should be preserved; and while we are not able to say that the one manuscript which has kept this great writer's work alive is due to these copies, it may certainly be the truth that without them we should have lost the tragic history of the Cæsars.¹

Tacitus had appointed as prætorian prefect his brother, M. Annianus Florianus, and the latter now caused the purple to be given him by his soldiers, themselves desirous not to leave the senate time to make a second choice. But the army of the East had at this time as leader a valiant captain whose services had always outrun his



The Emperor Probus,
Laurelled, with Pike and Buckler.
(Bronze Medallion.)

honours. At the news that Tacitus was dead the troops of Probus proclaimed their general emperor, and those of Florianus rid themselves at Tarsus of the man they had just chosen (beginning of July, 276). He had reigned three months. Upon their estate near Interamna was raised to the two brothers a cenotaph and statues thirty feet high. Doubtless to console their descendants, whom these nine months of the imperial dignity had deprived of their family chiefs and reduced to in-

digence, some friend of the senate put in circulation this prophecy, which Vopiscus hands down to us: "In a thousand years, a mighty prince of the blood of Tacitus, after a glorious reign, will give back to the Conscript Fathers their authority, and, a true son of early Rome, will live submissive to the good old customs of the country." "I do not anticipate," says Vopiscus modestly, "that

¹ There exist two manuscripts, the *Medicei*, each giving us a portion of his works, so that we depend on one MS. for all that we have.

my book will live long enough for men to read this prediction at the time when it will either be seen fulfilled or will be relegated to its place among fables." Vopiscus was deceived: his book has lived much longer, without much deserving it; but the avenger of the senate never appeared.¹

II.—PROBUS (JULY, 276, TO SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, 282).

The reigns of Tacitus and Florianus had been only a continuation of the interregnum. The real successor of Aurelian was one of his compatriots and his best comrade in arms, M. Aurelius Probus.² We already know him: two letters of Valerian, drawn from the imperial archives, show with what esteem he had been able to inspire this emperor, a relative of whom Probus had with his own hand rescued when about to be carried into captivity by the Quadi: "In accordance with the opinion I have always had of young Probus, and the testimony of the most honourable citizens, who call him the man of his name, I have appointed him tribune, contrary to the ordinance of the divine Hadrian,³ and have intrusted to him six cohorts of Saracens, the Gallic auxiliaries, and the Persian cavalry brought to us by the Syrian Artabasses." Aurelian and Tacitus had like confidence in him. The first wrote to him: "To show you in what esteem I hold your merits, I intrust to you my Tenth legion, which I myself received from Claudius. By a sort of happy accident this corps has never had for leaders others than future emperors;" and the second: "The senate has appointed me emperor; but know this, that the greater part of the burden will rest upon your



Reverse of a Coin of Probus, of the type of the She-Wolf Coins, and bearing the Legend: ORIGINI AVG. (Small Bronze.)

¹ I have followed the rendering some have given to the words *talis historia*, but without certainty whether it be not to the prediction itself that they apply rather than to the book of Vopiscus. It is, however, unimportant.

² Probus was born at Sirmium. (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 3.) Aurelius Victor (*Ep.*, 37) makes him a Dalmatian. His father was a centurion, and later a tribune. One of his coins bears the words *Origini Aug.*, with the she-wolf, *Lupa gemellos lactans*, whence it may be inferred that he claimed to be of Roman origin. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 505.)

³ The one which prohibited the appointment of too youthful tribunes, *sine barba*. Some sentences from the two letters of Valerian are here put together (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 4). The second contains the enumeration, always curious and significant, of the payments granted.

shoulders. We all know your worth. Aid us then in our times of need. I have given you the command of the army in the East,¹ I have increased your emoluments five-fold,² doubled your military decorations, and you will share the consulship of the coming year."

Probus did not desire the Empire. "You make a mistake," he said to the soldiers who saluted him, "for I shall never flatter you." He said the same to the prætorian prefect of Florianus, whom he did not remove from office. "I have not wished for this title, and it is contrary to my desire that it is given me. But I am not at liberty to refuse the burden which the army lays upon me: it is now a question of fulfilling my duty well." He was in the prime of life, forty-four years of age, and to his military abilities he joined uncommon good sense, which preserved him from being dazzled by his imperial destiny. The events which followed the death of Aurelian show that a reaction against the military saturnalia had begun in the minds of the generals themselves.³ Probus was one of those who felt most keenly the necessity of raising the civil order, depressed since the time of Caracalla by the outrageous conduct of the soldiery. The proof of this is in his letter where, while notifying the senate of his accession, he appears to await from it the conferring of authority. "In choosing one of your own number, Conscrip't Fathers," he wrote, "to succeed the emperor Aurelian, you acted in conformity with your usual rectitude and wisdom; for you are the lawful rulers of the world, and the authority which has come to you from your ancestors will be transmitted by you to your posterity. Would to the gods that Florianus, instead of seizing upon his brother's purple, had waited until your sovereign will had decided either in his favour or for some one else! The legions have done well to punish his rashness; they have offered me the title of Augustus, but I submit to your clemency my claims and my services."

This letter does honour to the statecraft of this soldier. He

¹ *Decreto totius Orientis ducatu* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 7).

² *Salarium*. According to a letter of Valerian (*id.*, *Prob.*, 4), the *salarium* would include all the material advantages attached to the grade and probably also the pay.

³ It is perhaps another sign of this same reaction in men's minds that the name of Marcus Aurelius was borne by most of the emperors after Claudius Gothicus. Notwithstanding his wars, Marcus Aurelius was eminently the representative of civil order.

knew the weakness of the senate and knew well that he had nothing to fear from it; but this decrepit body had still the grandeur of ancient memories, and Probus deemed it wise to give back in the eyes of the soldiery some splendour to this overclouded majesty, that the army might be made to believe that outside of them, and above them, there existed, if not a power, at least a right.

It is needless to say with what acclamations the senators welcomed this letter. Probus was likened to Alexander and to Trajan; he was endowed with all the virtues of the Antonines, all the talents of Claudius and Aurelian, and he merited these eulogies. What joy again when a second message announced that the senate was to receive appeals, to appoint pro-consuls and their legates, and finally, which was a more important thing, that it was to confirm the imperial decrees!

The claims of the Conscript Fathers had never gone so far as that; Probus granted them more than they themselves had wished to take upon Aurelian's death, and the senatorial restoration seemed complete. In reality no change at all was made. The emperor employed towards the venerable assembly gentle words instead of a displeased mien; the Fathers no longer trembled; they seemed more active in their curule chairs and they praised in good faith the unselfishness of the new emperor. Probus asked nothing better, and he did not feel that he paid too dearly for this harmony at the cost of a few marks of deference. The reality of



Probus. (Marble Bust, Museum of Naples, No. 32 of the Catalogue.)

power remained, where the public weal demanded that it should be, in his hands, and we shall see that he used it well.



Column commemorative of the Victories of Probus over the Alemanni (?), found at Merten, near Metz. (Restoration from the *Revue archéol.*)

Aurelian being dead, the barbarians had fallen upon Gaul and had devastated many Gallic cities.¹ Probus went thither with a large army. While his generals were driving back the Franks into the marshes of Batavia and Frisia, he himself forced the Alemanni across the Rhine, pursued them into the valley of the Neckar and over the slopes of the Suabian Alps, retaking their spoils and the captives they were carrying away. In the hope of closing the road against new incursions, he constructed an earthwork covering the Decumatian lands from Ratisbon to Mayence, that is to say, from the Danube to the Rhine.² Like Marius and Hadrian he believed that to occupy the soldiers was the best means of preserving discipline; he caused them to construct or repair a stone wall having great towers at regular intervals, an excellent precaution if a valiant army were always posted behind this rampart, ready to repulse assailants wherever they might attempt to break through,³ but a useless measure when the Empire, assailed on all sides, was able to leave there only detachments too feeble to guard this immense line. The wall, in fact, crumbled under the feet of the invaders, like that of Hadrian in Britain

¹ Vopiscus, *Prob.*: in chap. xv. it is said seventy; in chap. xliii., sixty. Vopiscus adds that Probus destroyed 400,000 barbarians; I am disposed to read *quadraginta* instead of *quadringentis*. These 400,000 men killed would suppose a more formidable invasion than that of the Goths in the time of Claudius II., and nothing indicates that this was so.

² On the subject of these works, see vol. iv. p. 707, and the map on p. 361.

³ At the present day the republic of Buenos Ayres adopts the same method of defence

beneath the advancing Picts; but as late as the Middle Ages the Suabian peasant, building his hovel with the stones taken from these ruins, was amazed at the grandeur of the work, crossing valleys and passing over hill-tops, and attributed its construction to demons, and it has always been called the Devil's Wall.

These gigantic works, and the presence of the emperor and his army, intimidated the barbarians; nine tribes sought for peace, and gave hostages and corn, cattle and horses, their sole wealth. Probus received into his army 16,000 of their warriors, scattering them through the legions in small bands that they might be a power and not a danger, and he expressed this in words: "They must be felt, not seen" (277). Thus the Empire, on the side of the Rhine, again assumed a vigorous defensive.

The following year Probus visited Rætia, Illyricum, and Moesia, where the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, and the Goths had re-appeared; he drove out these unimportant bands, and once more restored security to these countries where for the last forty years life had been so perilous. On the middle or lower Danube, he encountered a German nation, the Lygians, whom Tacitus represents as having a frightful aspect, which in the hand-to-hand fights of ancient war might well intimidate the adversary: "They blacken their shields, their bodies, their faces, and choose the darkest night to make their attack. The surprise, the horror produced by darkness, the mere aspect of this terrific host which seems to have emerged from the infernal regions, chill with fear the bravest heart, for in battle it is always the eyes which are conquered first."¹ These black warriors did not, however, prevail against Roman discipline. From the time of this collision their name disappears from history, as if they had been utterly destroyed. Probus had promised his soldiers a piece of gold for each head of an enemy brought to him. In the case of the prisoners taken from all these barbarous tribes, he gave them lands in Britain, where they proved faithful to him.

against the Indians of the pampas, and China has done the same for centuries with her great wall. These lines of defence do not always prevent incursions, but they embarrass the return of the invaders.

¹ Tac., *Germania*, 43.

After having appeased in Thrace the disturbances caused by the barbarous tribes of this country, whom the Grægo-Roman civilization had not yet been able to transform into inoffensive labourers, he passed over into Asia Minor (279), and put an end to the exploits of Palfurius, a famous brigand, and especially to those of the Isaurians, inveterate free-booters who pillaged on land and sea, and had up to this time been able to resist the Roman power. Probus organized an expedition against them, penetrated into their mountains, searched through all their valleys, and when he withdrew left behind a force of veterans.¹ These he established in the principal haunt of the bandits, and he distributed lands among them on condition that their sons, on attaining the age of eighteen, should serve in the legions. This was like instituting military fiefs. He probably imposed like conditions on the captives whom he had transported into Britain. Severus had set an example of this sort of tenure of land, and the usage increased.



Coin of Bahram II.
or Vararahnes.²

In Syria, Probus received a Persian embassy. Bahram II., who had reigned since 275, had had time to learn the value of the legions led by a brave and able chief. He begged for the friendship of Probus, and sent him presents, which the emperor scornfully refused. "I am surprised," Probus made answer, "that you send me so little, when all that you have will one day belong to me. Keep it until it suits my convenience to come and take it." This was bluster; but it was suited to the Oriental taste, and the condition of the Roman fortresses in Mesopotamia and menacing³ preparations which were going forward decided Bahram not to resent this insolence, and it even appears that a treaty was concluded between the two empires.⁴

Did the emperor then proceed into Egypt, or did he charge

¹ Zosimus, i. 69-70. This author relates at length the desperate resistance made by Lydios, one of the Isaurian chiefs, at Cremna, in Pisidia.

² Busts of Vararahnes or Bahram II. and the queen, with the legend: The worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Vararahnes, king of the kings of Iran and Turan, germ of the gods. The reverse bears: The divine Vararahnes, and a pyre between two figures. (Silver coin.)

³ A coin of Probus bears on the reverse: *Exercitus Persicus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 504.)

⁴ *Facta pace cum Persis* (Vopiscus, *Probus*, 18).

one of his lieutenants to call to account—for assistance rendered some years before to Firmus—Coptos, Ptolemaïs, and the Blemyes? This we do not know, but Rome shortly beheld in her streets negro captives who had been taken on the borders of Ethiopia.

Probus had now completed, like Aurelian, Severus, and Hadrian, the review of the frontiers, those of Africa excepted, where all was tranquil. This had become a periodical necessity, since the barbaric world was astir and always ready to fall upon the provinces.

The emperor was recalled into Thrace to effect an important work. The invasions and battles which for half a century had been incessant along the whole line of the Danube had made many parts of these provinces desolate. Probus resolved to call in the barbarians and give them lands, cattle, and farming implements. He had already transported Lygians and Vandals into Britain, and had advised the Alemanni to settle in the Decumatian lands. The hostility of the Goths of Dacia towards the Bastarnæ, who occupied the eastern Carpathians, gave him the occasion to call into the Empire this latter tribe, the remnant of that great mass of Gallic nations whom we have seen, in the time of Alexander and Perseus, established in the valley of the Danube.

A hundred thousand Bastarnæ with their wives and children came down into Thrace, where, happy at escaping from their enemies, they moulded themselves rapidly enough to this new life. Rome rejoiced. "For us the barbarians labour," it was said; "for us they sow."¹ The same attempt was made in the case of the Gepidæ, the Guthunges (Goths), and the Frankish prisoners. It was a dangerous system, for to fill the provinces with foreign elements was equivalent to making the barbarians the warders at the gates of the Empire; the peaceful invasion which the emperor himself organized, far from hindering the other which was made with violence a century later, facilitated it. Ancient Rome had had a different policy: she Latinized conquered regions; Probus Germanized Roman provinces.²

These barbarians introduced into the provinces did not always accept their exile. The Gepidæ and the Guthunges preferred to

¹ *Barbari vobis arant, vobis serunt* (Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 15).

² See pp. 364 *et seq.* the paragraph relative to the army.

continue in Thrace their nomadic life; they ranged through the cultivated lands and committed such ravages that it became necessary to kill a great number and adopt rigorous measures against the rest. The Franks did better still: relegated to the lands about the Euxine they seized some vessels, says Zosimus,¹ crossed the Bosphorus, and having ravaged along their way the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, they passed through the Straits of Hercules, and coasting Spain and Gaul came round to the mouths of the Rhine, where they related to their amazed fellow-countrymen how they had with impunity traversed the whole of the great Empire. This was a fatal revelation, too well understood by the Frisians and Saxons, who from that time began to ravage with their piracies the coasts of the western provinces. Other dangers were to be feared from the barbarians destined for the games of the circus. These men who were so ready to shed their blood did not take kindly to the trade of amusing the populace. Probus had reserved a large number of them for the shows he was obliged to furnish to the city after his victories, but they broke their chains, and a serious combat was necessary before they could be subdued.

About this time the turbulent population of Alexandria proclaimed as emperor Saturninus, an able general valued by Aurelian and Probus, but of volatile mind and restless disposition, like that Gallic race, says the historian, whence he sprang.² At first he suffered the populace to play at making an emperor; then, seized with fear, he fled into Palestine to escape this dangerous honour, and, lastly, believing that there was no longer safety for him in a private station, he took off a purple veil from a statue of Venus and made himself an imperial mantle of it. But he said, weeping, to the soldiers who dragged him to this honour: "Alas, how useful a citizen is lost to the state! I have restored the Gallic provinces, I have taken Africa from the Moors, and I have pacified Spain. To what profit is it all? In one day I lose all that I have gained. In calling me to the imperial power you sentence me to death." Probus would willingly have spared him; the emperor

¹ i. 71.

² . . . oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii (Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 7). Zosimus and Zonaras consider him a Moor.

wrote friendly letters to Saturninus with promises of pardon; but the soldiers who hoped to profit by his promotion compelled him to persevere in his usurpation. On the arrival of the imperial troops he sought shelter in a fortress, but was captured and put to death.

At Lyons a similar occurrence took place. Since the time that the armies had resumed obedience under the strong hand of their new leaders, the populace of the great cities had seemed to inherit the former's turbulence. The Lyonnese proclaimed Proculus, a rude and coarse man whom Probus had but to touch with his finger to overthrow. Bonosus, another old soldier, revolted to escape the responsibility of a fault; he had suffered the Germans to burn the Roman flotilla on the Rhine, of which he had been left in charge. Defeated by the imperial troops with the aid of the German auxiliaries, he attached a rope to a tree and strangled himself. His body was an object of derision: "This is not a man hanging here," it was said; "but only a skin of wine;"¹ and this funeral oration was merited. Probus had spared the family of Proculus, and he did the same in the case of Bonosus, granting to Hunila his wife a pension for life.

Still further an attempt at revolt was made in Britain. A friend of the emperor had persuaded him to give the government of this province to some individual whose name has not been preserved; learning that the fidelity of his *protégé* was wavering, and fearing to be regarded as his accomplice, the emperor's friend feigned to have fallen into disgrace at court, exiled himself into Britain, and being cordially welcomed by the governor assassinated him.

All these attempts had failed miserably; none the less, however, were they a dangerous symptom. The bad instincts, which had for a moment given way before a feeling of the public disasters, were re-awakening. Probus owed his elevation to war; he wished, however, to occupy himself only with works of public utility, and condemned his soldiers to this. The troops were not unwilling to be employed in repairing military roads and rebuilding

¹ Vopiscus, *Bonos.*, 15. He was a Breton of Spanish origin and his mother a Gaul. His father had been a schoolmaster. In respect to his habits of intoxication, see above, p. 372.

fortifications which had been destroyed, as their predecessors had so often done; but Probus would have them construct temples and porticos, regulate the course of rivers, and drain marshes, break up the ground and plant the vine in Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœsia, where these vineyards, longer of life than the Empire, still exist; and there was current a dangerous saying of his: "The day will come when Rome will no longer need an army." Our sympathy is due to this gallant soldier who did not underrate the share of the civil order in an established community; who, in the midst of arms, was mindful of the labours of peace and employed his legions therein. He was yet young,¹ beloved of the senate, feared by the barbarians, and had he lived would have secured prosperous days to the Empire; but he was not suffered to live. The Roman army was composed of too rough material for ideas of devotion to the public weal taking any other form than that of courage in battles to be comprehensible to these men who were in no respect Romans. One summer day, in a torrid heat which rendered fatigue greater and the mind more excitable, the soldiers employed in draining a marsh in the neighbourhood of Sirmium threw down their implements, seized their swords, and forcing an entrance into a tower where Probus was overlooking the work, they murdered him² (September or October, 282). The deed being done, they wept over the man whom they had just killed, and upon his tomb were inscribed these words: "Here lies the emperor Probus, a truly upright man, who conquered all barbarous nations and all tyrants."³ Carus, whom he had loaded with honours, avenged his death upon the murderers.

¹ Fifty years of age. (Orelli, No. 1,104.)

² This tower was protected with iron, *turris ferrata*, whence it may be inferred that murmurs had already been heard, and that Probus had guarded against a surprise. Zonaras represents this murder as preceded by a revolt of other troops who had constrained Carus to assume the purple and march upon Italy. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.*, 21; Aur. Victor, 37; Eutropius, ix. 17; Orosius, vii. 24; the Syncellus, etc. The authority of all these writers not being great, I adopt that version of the story which seems to me most probable.

³ The coins of Probus have for their legend: *Bono imp. C. Probo*, an epithet rare upon imperial coins. An inscription (Wilmanns, 1,048) bears the following: *pietate justitia fortitudine et plane omnium virtutum principi vero Gothico veroque Germanico ac victoriarum omnium nominibus illustri, M. Aur. Probo*. Mommsen concludes, from the words *vero Gothico veroque Germanico*, that Probus had refused these two titles. It seems to me that the general character of the inscription gives another meaning to these words. The people of Valentia, in engraving these words, wish to contrast the important victories of Probus over the Goths and

We add one title more to those which Aurelian and Probus owe to the esteem of history: these valiant emperors created the great military school whence emerged Carus, Diocletian, his three colleagues, Constantine, Licinius, and the generals who for more than a half-century protected the frontiers from invasion.

III.—CARUS (SEPTEMBER, 282, TO DECEMBER, 283); CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS (DECEMBER, 283, TO APRIL, 285).

M. Aurelius Carus was also an Illyrian,¹ but he had been brought up in the capital, called himself a Roman, and had filled military and civil offices, the proconsulship of Cilicia, and the prætorian prefecture. He was therefore a senator; but he had less consideration for the senate than Probus, and contented himself with announcing to that body his accession, and congratulating them that their emperor was this time one of their own order.



Coin of Carus.²

He had two sons of very different characters and tastes: Carinus, violent and profligate; and Numerianus, of gentle manners and cultivated mind. If we may believe the flatteries of the senate, who caused a statue to be erected to him in the Ulpian library,³ the latter was a great orator, and his verses were compared with those of the most famous poet of his time, Nemesianus. The new emperor appointed his two sons Cæsars, and sharing the Empire with Carinus gave him, perhaps not without hesitation, the government of the western provinces. It is at least asserted that the emperor soon repented of this act, and sought to withdraw the authority from his son in order to bestow it upon Constantius Chlorus.⁴ He himself, resuming the project formed by Probus of striking a heavy blow at Persia,

Germans with the pretended successes of so many other emperors who were anything but real conquerors.

¹ At least born in Illyria: one of his historians represents him as the son of a Carthaginian, *Patris parentibus* (Vopiscus, *Carus*, 4): Zonaras calls him a Gaul.

² DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVIC. AVG. Radiate busts: facing each other, the Sun and Carus. (Small bronze.)

³ This statue bore the following inscription: *Numeriano Cæsari oratori temporibus suis potentissimo* (Vopiscus, *Num.*, 12).

⁴ Vopiscus, *Carin.*, 16.

the hereditary enemy, directed his steps towards the East, followed by a formidable army; his second son accompanied him (January, 283).



Carus crowned with Laurel.

At the news of the death of Probus the Quadi had crossed the Danube and overrun the whole of Pannonia.¹ Carus killed 16,000 of them, and took a large number of prisoners, among them many women.

He then advanced rapidly into Mesopotamia. Bahram II., whose principal army was at that time employed at the opposite extremity of his Empire, essayed by a humble embassy to avert the storm. When the envoys arrived

in the camp they were conducted into the presence of an old man who, seated on the ground and clad in a simple woollen tunic, was eating some peas cooked with a little salt meat. This old man said to them that he was the emperor, and that if the Persians did not acknowledge the majesty of Rome



Coin commemorative of Victories over the Quadi.³

he would make their country as bare as his head, upon which, removing his cap, he showed it to them perfectly bald. "Are you

¹ Eutropius (ix. 6) places the Quadi in the eastern Carpathians; but this must be an error, for we have always found them in the vicinity of the Marcomanni.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (nicolo, 14 millim. by 12), No. 2,106 of the Catalogue; not a likeness: Carus was older and bald, if the words attributed to him are authentic.

³ IMP. NUMERIANUS P. F. AVG. Laurellled bust, holding a spear and a globe. On the reverse: TRIVNF. VQVADOR.: Carinus and Numerianus in a quadriga. (Bronze medallion, Cohen, No. 19.) But neither the father nor the elder son were ever to return to Rome, and of

hungry?" he then said; "if you are, eat from this dish; otherwise, you may go."¹ A victory gave him the road to Seleucia, and he entered that region without difficulty; he crossed the Tigris, took Ctesiphon, and was making ready to execute his threats, when one day during a storm his tent was seen to be in flames. Aper, his prætorian prefect, declared it to have been set on fire by a flash of lightning, which had also killed the emperor. The lightning was probably not the real culprit. Carus was a hard master, and his soldiers and officers, fatigued by this summer campaign under a burning sun, saw themselves with alarm dragged away by him into the heart of Asia. A prophecy was put in circulation that no Roman emperor could go beyond Ctesiphon, and some one took advantage of the storm to strike the blow. The oracle was fulfilled, and the flames concealed all traces of the crime (end of December, 283). The emperor's secretary wrote to the urban prefect: "Our beloved emperor Carus was ill in his bed, when a furious storm burst over the camp. The sky became so darkened that we could not distinguish each other, and in the general confusion incessant peals of thunder prevented our being aware of what was going on. Immediately after a very heavy burst of thunder the outcry was raised that the emperor was no more; it appeared that, in the transports of their grief, the household officers had set on fire the imperial tent, whence has arisen a report that the emperor had been killed by lightning; but, so far as we have been able to investigate the matter, we believe that his death was caused by the illness from which he was suffering."²

Bahram II. (Vararahnes).³

this triumph, all that was ever seen were the coins which bore its emblems. (Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 512.)

¹ These words have been also attributed to Probus.

² Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of 15 millim. by 11), No. 1,357 of the Catalogue. Under the No. 1,359 the same collection possesses an intaglio cut on both sides; the reverse of the head of Bahram II. is a lion surmounted by a scorpion.

³ Vopiscus, *Car.*, 8.

Numerianus inherited the title of Augustus, which his brother Carinus also assumed at Rome, and the army, abandoning its conquests, fell back into the provinces. The young emperor, a man of gentle and contemplative nature, preferred to dream over his verses rather than to add new exploits to those achieved by his



M. Aur. Carinus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 79.)

father. His constitution was delicate; he had not been able to endure the fatigues of this expedition, and the sun and the burning sands of the desert had brought on an affection of the eyes which made it necessary for him to live in darkness. He never left his tent except concealed in a litter, and the soldiers became accustomed to not seeing him. Thus slowly the army crossed

Mesopotamia, the Syrian provinces, and Asia Minor. The prætorian prefect, Aper, father-in-law of Numerianus, was in command. At the beginning of September they reached the shores of the Bosphorus. A part of the army had already crossed the straits when a rumour was put in circulation that Numerianus was dead. The soldiers rushed to the emperor's tent, and found there a dead body from which life had departed some days before. This secret kept so long directed suspicion upon the man whose duty it had been to reveal it instantly; the soldiers surrounded Aper, accused him of being his son-in-law's murderer, loaded him with chains, and the generals, assembled at Chalcedon on the Asiatic side, formed themselves into a tribunal to judge the murderer whose crime no man doubted. Before the decision, they chose one of their number as chief; he was the son of a freedman and himself a soldier of fortune, the captain of the household troops,¹ Diocles by name, a man who must have been an honoured soldier, since without canvassing or the intervention of the soldiery he was the choice of his companions in arms. He ascended the tribunal, and swore by the Sun, the divinity who sees all things, even the secret thoughts of men, that he had in no way been concerned in the murder nor had desired the imperial power; then turning towards Aper he exclaimed: "This man is the assassin;" and plunged his sword into the prefect's heart, as the priest immolates the victim devoted to the infernal gods. As supreme judge he had pronounced sentence; as soldier he executed it (17th September, 284).

¹ *Domesticos regens* (*id.*, *Numer.*, 13). The *domestici*, who are mentioned as early as the time of Caracalla, were companies of the bodyguard: their captains naturally took the rank and authority given them by the confidence of the emperor, whose life was in their hands. An inscription found at Nicomedia mentions a bodyguard of protectors, *protectores divini lateris*, under Aurelian. (*C. I. L.*, iii. 327.) Another mentions an officer of this guard who was consul in 261. (Perrot, *La Galatie*, etc., vol. i. p. 6.) In an inscription of the time of Claudius II. the *protectores* are mentioned. (*Bull. épigr.*, No. 1, p. 5.)

CHAPTER XCIX.

DIOCLETIAN: WARS AND ADMINISTRATION.

I.—DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, OR THE DYARCHY (284–293).

DIOCLES, who after his accession gave to his Greek name a Roman and more sonorous form, Diocletianus,¹ was a Dalmatian from the environs of Scutari, whose father had been a slave.



Diocletian.³

Entering the service at an early age, he attracted the notice of his superior officers, less by brilliant achievements than by his acute and penetrating mind, which always found the wisest measure to adopt and the best means of carrying it into execution.² At the time of the death of Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian was twenty-five years old, an age perfectly suited to profit by the lessons of the great military school of

Aurelius and Probus.⁴ In these stormy times advancement was rapid; he rose quickly to the higher grades in the army, was made consul *suffectus*, governor of Moesia and commander of the palace guard, a post of confidence which gave him very high rank. To set in circulation the report that in taking the life of Aper he had executed a decree of heaven, Diocletian related that a druidess of Tongres in Belgium had promised him that he should be emperor after he had killed a wild boar. "From that day,"

¹ His name in inscriptions is C. (or M.) Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus. (Wilmanns, 769 and 824.) He was born in 245 at Doclea, in Dalmatia, near Podgoritzza, below Montenegro, and was but thirty-nine at the time of his accession.

² Aur. Victor, who lived not long after Diocletian, filling high offices under Julian, says that the former was chosen *ob sapientiam*, and calls him *magnus vir* (*Cæs.*, 39).

³ IMP. C(æsar) C(aius) VAL(erius) DIOCLETIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AUG(ustus). Laurelled bust with cuirass and ægis. (Bronze medallion.)

⁴ . . . *usumque bonæ militiæ quanta his Aureliani Probiq[ue] institutio fuit* (Aur. Victor, 39).

he said, "I sought the wild boar everywhere, and I have killed many, but other men have eaten them." Aurelian, indeed, and then Probus, Tacitus, and Carus ascended the throne, and still Diocletian remained in the ranks. On the 17th of September, 284, the designated wild boar¹ fell at last beneath his blows, and the son of the Dalmatian slave became the emperor of Rome.

The rare documents which we possess in relation to Diocletian do not give those inner details which permit us to penetrate into



Chase of the Wild Boar.²

the genius of the man. However, notwithstanding gaps and obscurities, it is clearly to be seen that he was something more than a soldier of fortune. But he did not come from one of those rich and intellectual communities in which the Antonines had learned the elegancies of the Roman world. Accordingly, not possessing their natural or acquired distinction as a means to keep the crowd at a distance, he surrounded himself with a cold and solemn ceremonial, regulated by the strictest etiquette. In the arts his taste inclined to the massive constructions, the heavy ornamentation of periods of natural decline; and while Hadrian's

¹ *Aper* is the Latin word signifying wild boar. It has been believed that, by this precipitate murder, Diocletian intended to prevent compromising revelations, since he, as commander of the bodyguard must have known what was taking place in the tent of Numerianus. But as father-in-law of the emperor, as well as prætorian prefect, *Aper* had a superior authority which would have permitted him to send away all persons who might have prevented the carrying out of his designs.

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus found at Salona, the subject of which is regarded as an allusion to the murder of *Aper*.

villa at Tivoli has preserved to us a great number of masterpieces, from the palace of Diocletian at Salona, an enormous mass of marble, granite, and porphyry, not one work of art has come down to us.

He seems to have had more appreciation of literature. We know that he gave to Nicomedia a school of higher instruction, to which he called Lactantius, the most eloquent rhetorician of his time;¹ that he excused students, up to their twenty-fifth year, from municipal burdens;² that he took as his model the philosopher Marcus Aurelius,³ a greater man than himself, but not so great a ruler; that finally he caused biographies of the emperors to be written.⁴ Unfortunately the lessons that he learned from history, while revealing to him the points truly important for an administration, did not teach him gentleness. He showed himself pitiless towards armed insurrections, and even towards those that were not armed, and if he had in his retirement much practical philosophy, he appeared never to have had a very lively interest in intellectual matters; at Salona his garden was far more attractive to him than were his books. His religion was that of the peasant: for his infirmities, a healing deity, Æsculapius; for his fortunes, a protecting deity, Jupiter, and the voice of the Oracles, listened to more attentively in certain cases than the utterance of human wisdom.

But he possessed the qualities which make the ruler: a knowledge of men, a comprehension of the needs of the state, and the firm resolve to give incessantly his thoughts and himself

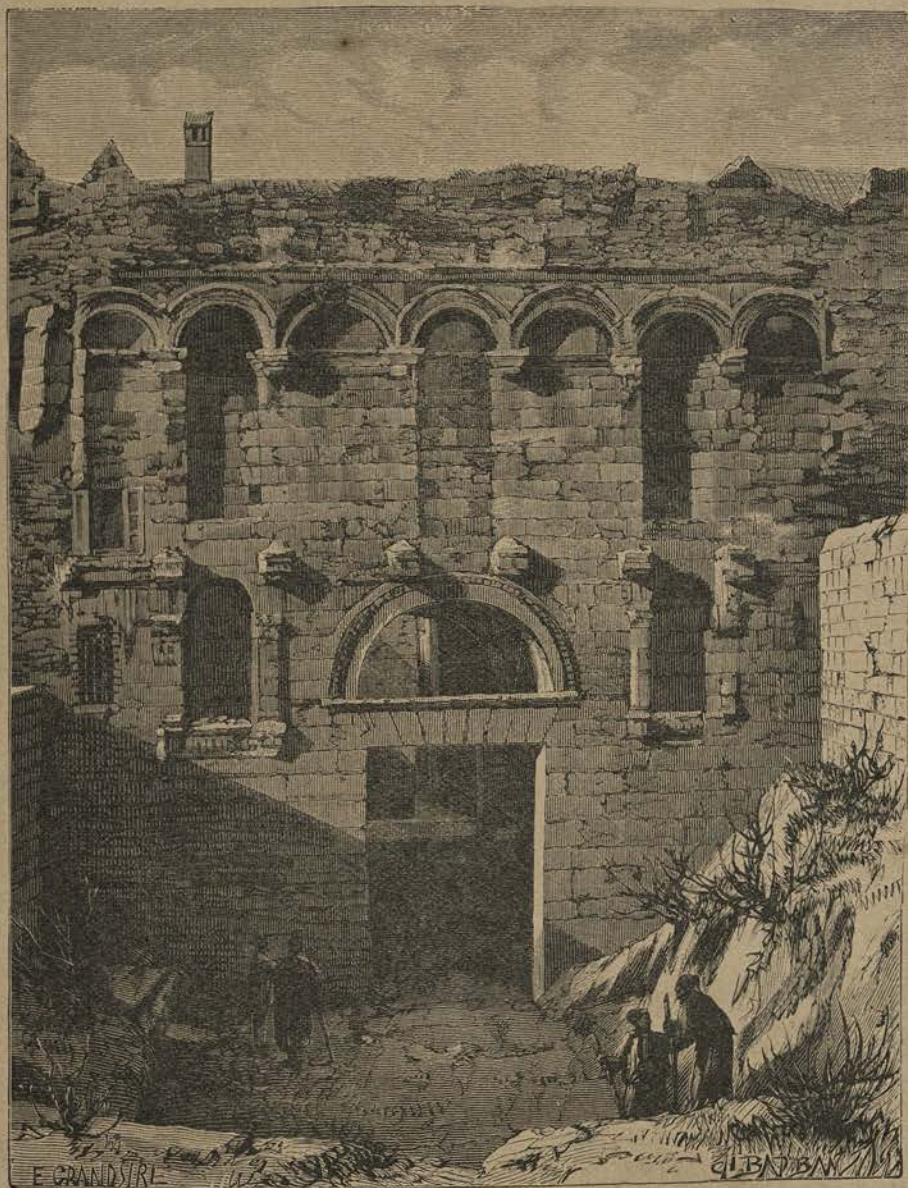
¹ Lactan., *Div. Inst.*, v. 2, and S. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, 80: *Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico.* Another writer, Hierocles, was vicar of the diocese of Bithynia.

² *ut studiis non avocantur* (*Code Just.*, x. 49, 1). See in the reign of Valentinian I. an ordinance concerning the schools of Rome. Diocletian also said: *artem geometriæ discere, atque exercere publice interest* (*Code Just.*, ix. 14, 2).

³ *Augustan History*, *Marc. Ant.*, 19. He blamed the savage temper of Maximian, *asperitatem*, and said of Aurelian that he was better suited to be a general than to be an emperor (*ibid.*, *Aurel.*, 43). Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*) speaks of his moderation: . . . *hanc moderationem tenere conatus est.*

⁴ A part of the *Augustan History*. Cf. Teuffel, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*, No. 388. Capitolinus says to him (in *Macrino*, 15, *ad fin.*): *quæ de plurimis collecta Serenitati Tuæ detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus.* The saying of Diocletian that "the best of rulers is in danger of being sold by his courtiers," seems to have been borrowed from letters exchanged between Mnesitheus and Gordian III. (*Hist. Aug. Gordianus III.*, 24-25.)

to the cares of government. We might suppose that this creator of the Byzantine court was an effeminate person, but he manifested,



Gate of the Palace of Diocletian, called the Golden Gate, at Salona.

in respect to provinces, frontiers, and armies, all the masculine energy of a Hadrian. Like that indefatigable traveller he was incessantly on the road throughout the Empire. He weighed his

plans carefully, determined them long in advance, in order to secure their success, and executed with energy what prudence had prepared. His bust in the capitol shows plainly this patient tenacity. By the broad square forehead, the cold and tranquil

face, we recognize a man master of himself, which is the first condition for becoming master of others.

Lactantius accuses him of cowardice and of avarice, strange reproaches to address to the soldier who had gained his promotion on fields of battle, and to the economical ruler who was the most ostentatious of emperors only because he believed this ostentation necessary to the new monarchy he was founding. Nor do we more willingly agree with Lampridius when he calls Diocletian "the Father of the Golden Age,"¹ for the fourth



Æsculapius. (Marble in the Museum at Naples.)

century has no right to this title. The history of his reign which, with but a brief exception, gave to the Roman world a long period of domestic peace, and to the Empire forty years of security, will make us know him better than the words of doubtful veracity spoken by his enemies or by his flatterers.

¹ *Aug. Hist., Heliog.*, 34.

The man chosen by the Eastern army had a dangerous competitor in Carinus, who, proud of a brilliant success over the Jazyges, had no idea of abandoning his paternal inheritance. But detested by the senate¹—a thing, it is true, of but little importance,—Carinus was despised for his sensuality by the rough comrades-in-arms of the later emperors, and he was also dreaded by the soldiers on account of his cruelty, and this disaffection of the army was serious for an aspirant to the throne who had to encounter a competitor.

On both sides many months were employed in making ready for the struggle. Carinus first overcame Julian, governor of Venetia, who had assumed the purple, and he gained also some partial advantages over the advanced-guard of Diocletian. In March or April, 285, the armies met for a decisive



Coin of the Usurper Julian.²

engagement at Margus on the Morawa, not far from the confluence of that river with the Danube of Europe. As always, the Asiatic legions gave way before the onset of the legions of Europe; but Carinus was killed by one of his own officers whose wife he had outraged.³

This murder seems to have been a deliverance for every one. On the conqueror's part there were no confiscations, no exiles: each man retained his office, even the urban and prætorian prefects, and Diocletian took one of them for his colleague in the consulship. It is probable an agreement had been entered into before the battle, and that the officers of the Western emperor had sold him to his competitor. Eutropius says that Carinus was betrayed or at least abandoned.⁴ In these days when Rome had only mercenaries for soldiers, the best of all war-engines was a well-filled treasury.

This great commotion had unsettled the Empire, encouraged the barbarians, and diminished the subject nations whom Rome

¹ Carinus had one day said to the Roman populace that the wealth of the aristocracy belonged to them, for the reason that they were the true Roman people. (*Hist. Aug., Carinus*, 1.)

² IMP. C. JULIANUS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus) and the laurelled bust of Julian. On the reverse: LIBERTAS PVBLICA, surrounding figure of Liberty. (Gold coin.)

³ *Suorum ictu interit quod libidine impatiens, militarium nuptas affectabat . . . sese ultisunt* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁴ ix. 20.

protected badly and ruined by her exactions. The taxes were heavy in themselves, and increased because of the exhaustion of the sources of production.¹ What has been said² of the hardships which oppressed trade, commerce, and agriculture, of the disappearance of petty landowners, and the desolation of the country, even in its most fertile regions, makes it comprehensible how in the midst of these populations driven wild by suffering, *Gallias efferatas injuriis*,³ insurrections should have broken out. That of the Bagaudæ⁴ was for the moment formidable. Fugitive slaves, husbandmen oppressed by their masters, vagrant peasants, insolvent debtors, became freebooters and at last formed an army, which gave itself two Cæsars, Ælianus and Amandus (285). We have coins struck for these peasant-emperors;⁵ on the reverse of one is the word: *Spes*. Using every variety of weapons, they flung themselves with the ardour of savage instincts when unchained upon the villages and unwalled cities, ravaging, burning, and killing.⁶ Autun, lately the pride of Gaul, was a second time devastated.⁷ Brigand chiefs are often popular favourites, the war they make upon the rich seeming to the poor but legitimate reprisal. The Bagaudæ remain in the memory of the people as defenders of the unfortunate. A tradition which took shape in the following centuries even represents this outbreak as a Christian insurrection. It would be no cause for surprise if some Christians were among them, as there were some in the Gothic bands which had ravaged Asia Minor. Were they not also sufferers from oppression, and might not the spirit of

¹ Cæsar required from the Gauls only 40,000,000 sesterces (about £400,000). This was a tax which the conqueror knew it for his advantage to render light. Augustus, after reorganizing the pacified Empire, had required from Gaul nearly the same tribute as from Egypt, 12,500 talents (Vell. Paterc., ii. 39, and Strabo, XVII. i. 13) or nearly £2,800,000. Savigny believes that in the time of Constantine the tribute had quintupled. (Marquardt, *Handb.*, ii. 288.)

² p. 382.

³ *Paneg. veteres*, vi. 8, edit. of 1676. The word *efferatas* signifies literally "rendered wild or savage."

⁴ According to Ducange, in the Celtic *bagad* signifies a band. Gallic peasants had already mingled in the tumults of the soldiery in the time of Tetricus. (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, vii. 4, and *Pro rest. scholis*, 14.) For twenty years (254-274) Gaul had been a prey to the devastations of the barbarians and to civil war.

⁵ But these coins are either counterfeit or else re-minted.

⁶ *hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus vastator imitatus est* (*Paneg. veter.*, ii. 4). Was it to conceal from these plunderers the wealth of the temple of Mercury that the treasure of Bernay was then buried? See many objects of this collection, vol. ii. p. 226; vol. v. p. 426, and the index.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 4.

vengeance, which was forbidden to the saints, justly arm against a world which crushed them those who had more wrath than resigna-



Diocletian. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

tion?¹ While Northern Gaul was in a blaze, the Saxons were scouring the North Sea and the British Channel and devastating

¹ In the middle of the second century, Christianity counted in Gaul only the small but fervent community of Lyons. The great mission, organized a century later, founded churches in Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, which prospered after the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus in 260. In respect to the tardy evangelization of the

the coasts; the Franks were astir along the Rhine, other Germans on the Danube, the Moors in Africa, the Persians behind the Tigris: all the line of the frontiers was threatened and the Empire shaken to its foundations. Diocletian spent twelve years in securing the colossus upon its base.

He had seen the most valiant emperors, men who had saved the state, murdered by their soldiers, and others fall victims to the machinations of their generals. Insurrections of the soldiery, treasonable designs on the part of ambitious men, and attacks from without were the triple peril which must be averted. If to arrive at the sovereign power there was only one man to overthrow, many would still make the attempt; but it would be difficult to destroy two emperors at the same moment, and this difficulty would be likely to cause the disaffected to hesitate. In the interests of the Empire and of himself, Diocletian, therefore, had need of a colleague who, having no further ambition himself, would assist the emperor in controlling that of other men, at the same time that he should keep the barbarians in check. From the first century of the Empire this necessity had been recognized. Piso had been adopted by Galba, Trajan by Nerva; in the time of Marcus Aurelius, Severus, the Gordians, Valerian, and Carus,² there had been several emperors at the same time, and the history of the Thirty Tyrants, which Diocletian studied, had shown him that the enfeebled Empire was exposed to too many dangers for one hand to be able to ward off all the blows. This was the solution of the future, the one imposed by geography, which is a mighty force; by the natural division of the Empire into two halves, the one Greek, the other Latin; and lastly by the weakness of a state which, being no longer able to conquer, was reduced to self-defence. Surrounded by barbarians, whom she had not in the days of her strength cared to subjugate and civilize, Rome was now, as it were, a prey in the midst of devouring wolves. The time had come, therefore, to organize a vigorous

Gaullic provinces, see the publications of the Abbé de Meissas, who boldly combats the wild assertions of the legendary school.

¹ When Carus appointed his two sons Cæsars, and intrusted to the elder the government of the Western provinces while he took the younger with him into the East, he was already following the system of Diocletian, with this advantage to the latter, that, having no son, he was able to choose his Cæsars from among his ablest officers.

defensive, making, by a division of the power, the imperial action present and effective in all the provinces. As to the rebel legionaries and the usurping generals, it would probably be easier to prevent their revolts by serving the cause of the most ambitious or most able among them.

Diocletian had that clear view of the public needs which in politics denotes the superior man. On the first day of May, 285, he invested with the purple, not one of his own kindred, but a comrade in arms, Maximian; and on this occasion he himself took a new name, Jovius, which may be translated as "devoted to Jupiter." He specially adored this divinity whose name was the beginning of his own;² he placed the figure of Jupiter upon his coins, and the statue of the god upon the column before which he presently invested Galerius with the imperial insignia; he built him a temple in the palace of Salona, and made it his study to appear in public ceremonies with the calm majesty of the father of gods and men. To Maximian, whom he adopted as his son,³ he gave the name of Herculius, in memory of the assistance afforded by the son of Alemene to his divine father during the war of the giants.⁵ These appellations were well chosen to characterize the rôle destined for each of the two men: the one



Diocletian with the Name of Jovius.¹



Maximian Hercules.⁴

¹ IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG. (Bronze medallion.)

² *Dios* is the genitive of Zeus, the Greek Jupiter. Diocletian probably regarded this accidental circumstance as a sign, pledging him to the worship of the god.

³ This adoption seems to be proved by the names M. Aurelius Valerius assumed by Maximian. (Wilmanns, 769, 1,060, 1,062.)

⁴ HERCVLIO MAXIMIANO AVG. Maximian and Hercules seated; between them, a Victory. Reverse of the same medallion. (Cohen, No. 105.)

⁵ *Eadem auxilii opportunitate, qua tuus Hercules Jovem vestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriæ parte juvit* (Paneg., ii. 4). The inhabitants of Fano and Pisaurum had already made Hercules the companion and colleague of Aurelian: *Herculi Augusto consorti Domini nostri Aureliani* (Orelli, No. 1,031).

to be the ruling thought, the other the executing strength. Maximian was not proclaimed Augustus; his title of Cæsar marked a subordinate rank, and the surname which he had accepted pledged him to filial obedience.

From the time of Claudius II., Illyricum, the region of the Empire where most fighting was required, had held the right to provide emperors,¹ as Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Syria had done in their turn. Maximian was the son of a Pannonian colonist in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, a brave soldier and experienced general, but of coarse manners and uncultivated mind, to the degree that he, who recaptured Carthage, knew nothing of Hannibal, of Scipio, or of Zama; he felt himself the inferior of Diocletian, and was not irritated at this consciousness. The Augustus had chosen, therefore, not so much a colleague as a docile lieutenant.

Carus had taken Ctesiphon, but the Persians had quickly recovered possession of it, so that Rome only scored an additional victory but not an enemy the less. Retained by the hostile attitude of the Persians, Diocletian despatched the Cæsar to Gaul to restore order there and give security to the western frontiers. The Seine and the Marne at their junction form a peninsula which the Bagaudæ had cut with deep trenches (Saint-Maur-les-Fossés): this was their fortress and camp of refuge; there they collected their booty and they believed themselves secure against attack. But their bands, undisciplined and poorly armed, could not stand before the legions; in a few weeks this Jacquerie, shut up in its camp of Saint-Maur, was smothered there.²

The pacification of Gaul gave to the Cæsar the title of Augustus (286).³ Diocletian had not ventured to incur the risk that the victorious army, giving to their leader the supreme title, should make of him a rebel. But to this elevation he added the condition that Maximian Hercules should lay aside the purple whenever he himself should set the example, and a solemn oath on the altar of Jupiter consecrated this engagement.⁴

¹ *Italia . . . gentium domina gloriæ vetustate, sed Pannonia virtute (Paneg., i. 2) . . . in quibus provinciis omnis vita militia est (ib., iii.).*

² *Paneg. veteres*, ii. 8: . . . *levibus præliis agrestes domuit (Eutrop., ix. 20).*

³ A rescript of June 21st, 286, gives him that title. As Augustus, he became "the brother of Diocletian" (Wilmanns, 739), a title which modern sovereigns interchange with each other.

⁴ This pledge is mentioned twice, in 307 and in 310, by the authors of the *Paneg. veter.*,

As Caesar, the new Augustus had been already in possession of the tribunitian and proconsular authority, he now received the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had been shared but once before, namely, by Pupienus and Balbinus. He had his own prætorian prefect, his army, his treasury; and he promulgated decrees which were valid everywhere, although he was intrusted only with the administration of the Western provinces. The unity of command was secured by the deference that Maximian had promised to his colleague; it was manifested to all eyes by the unity in legislation, all edicts being issued in the name of the two emperors, and by that of the coinage, which was the same from the banks of the Euphrates to the Rhine. Inscriptions commemorative of public works executed by either bore the names of both;¹ in a word, the administration was divided, but the government was not, Diocletian alone holding the reins.² In public documents his name preceded that of Maximian, as later Constantius was always mentioned before Galerius. This unvarying order proves that, in the system of Diocletian, a certain pre-eminence was reserved to the first Augustus.

For the expedition against the Bagaudæ, the posts on the Rhine had been stripped of their garrisons; the Germans took advantage of this situation, and the Heruli and Chaviones on the north,³ and the Burgundians and Alemanni on the south, crossed the river. But they arrived too late; Maximian had brought his troops back to Mayence, and from this strong position he kept watch on the movements of the barbarians. The Burgundians and Alemanni seemed too numerous for him to attack in front, and he allowed them to advance into the desolated provinces, where famine and disease soon reduced their numbers, and when their

vi. 9: . . . *consilii olim inter vos placiti constantia et pietate fraterna*, and vii. 15: . . . *illum in Capitolini Jovis templo jurasse*. It is also referred to by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*, book i. chap. xviii. The fact is certain, therefore, though not the date. It seems to me probable that it occurred on the day when Maximian could refuse nothing to the man who invested him with the supreme rank.

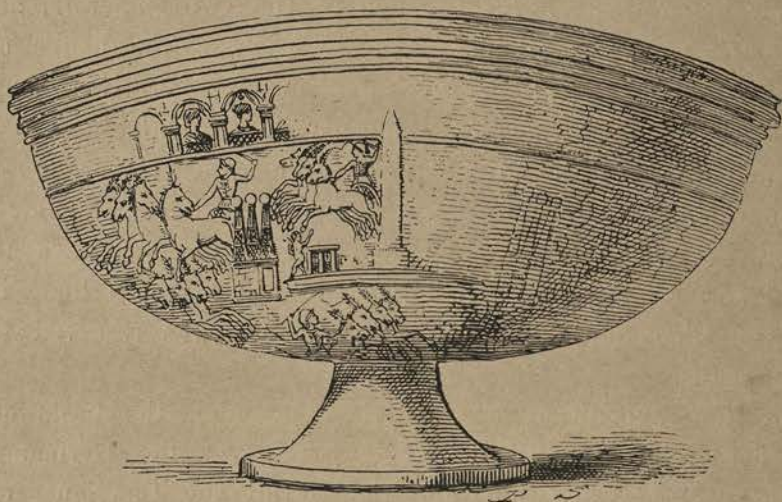
¹ Orelli, Nos. 1,052, 1,054.

² *Cujus nutu omnia gubernabantur* (Aur. Victor).

³ The Chaviones originally occupied Northern Holstein. The great movement of the Germanic tribes towards the south, of which we have already spoken (pp. 356 *et seq.*), had brought to the Rhine the Chaviones, the Heruli, and some Burgundians, the main body of the latter nation having stopped in the valley of the Saale.

diminished bands came again within his reach he easily got the better of them. The Heruli, less dangerous, had been arrested on their first advance and driven back across the river. These were far from glorious victories, but men cared little what devastation the barbarians might have made; the Roman dignity at that time was satisfied when the emperor could say: "The enemy is no longer within the limits of the Empire."

Trèves had become the Rome of the Gallic provinces. It had a palace for the emperor, arsenals and workshops for the armies, a



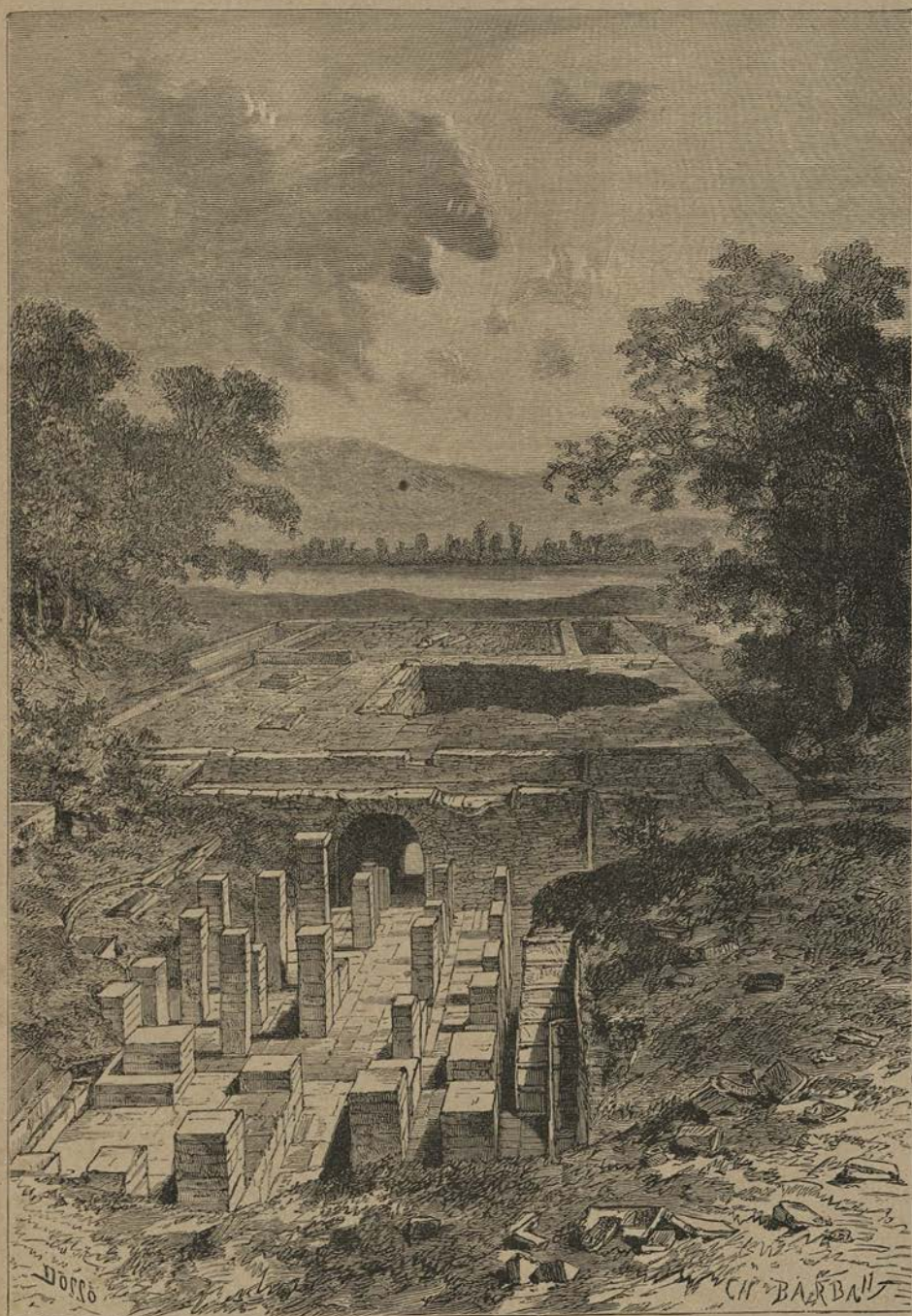
Glass Cup found at Trèves, representing the Great Circus.¹

circus and a forum for the people. On the first of January, 288, a public ceremony had attracted thither vast crowds: Maximian for the second time assumed the consular dignity. According to custom he was about to address the assembly, when a cry was heard from the ramparts: "The barbarians are at the gates!" The emperor threw off the consular toga, put on his cuirass and hastened to meet the foe. It proved to be some German horsemen who had made their way between the outposts and were on a plundering expedition.² Such was life upon this frontier.

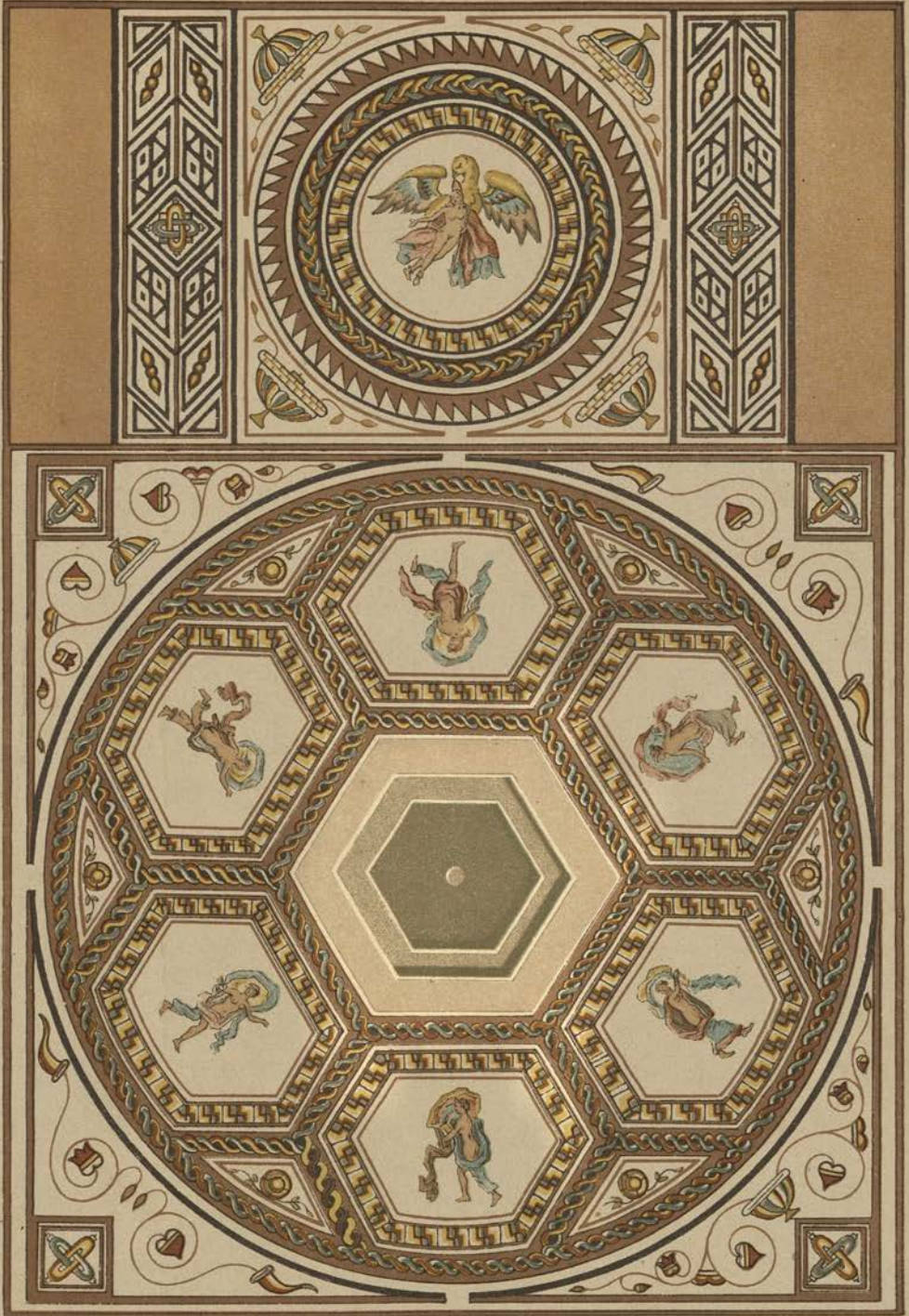
To give chase to the Saxon and Frankish pirates who were ravaging the coasts of Britain and Gaul, Maximian had collected

¹ Wilkowski, *Archæol. Freunde in Trier und Umgegend*, 1873, p. 18, pl. ii., and Fröhner, *La Verrerie antique*, Descript. of the Coll. Charvet, 1879, p. 96.

² Or some Alemannic band astray after the late invasion who had escaped the soldiers of Maximian. (*Paneg.*, ii. G.)



Ruins of Hot Baths in a Roman Villa, discovered in 1811 at Bognor, in Sussex (England).
(Lyson's *Reliquiæ Britannicæ Romanæ*, pl. xxv. vol. iii.)



ECHÉLI DEL. Dosso pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMBOURGÉZ chromolith.

FRAGMENTS OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT

FOUND IN 1811 IN THE BATH OF A ROMAN VILLA AT BOGNOR, SUSSEX

at Boulogne under Carausius, the Menapian, a fleet designed to close the straits. This Carausius, once a galley slave, had not improved in character with his advance in fortune; he made his plan to plunder the freebooters who were his compatriots. He suffered them to pass freely, but on their return they were detained and compelled to share their booty with the admiral. He in this manner collected money enough to buy his officers and crews, and when Maximian pronounced against him sentence of death no man could be found to execute it. Carausius placed himself out of reach by going over into Britain, where he corrupted the troops and caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus (287). With a remarkable appreciation of the resources offered by the possession of the island, he organized a powerful marine, which caused his standard to be respected as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and his alliance with the Saxons and Franks secured him soldiers and sailors. Many cities on the Gallic sea-coast preserved their old and profitable commercial intercourse with Britain, and Boulogne even remained in his hands. Carausius therefore was master of his island and of the sea, and Maximian could effect nothing against him. The emperor, however, made an attempt to dispute both with him; a fleet was constructed at the mouths of the Gallic rivers, and on the festival of the Palilia (21st of April, 289) the official panegyrist¹ celebrated in Trèves the approaching fall of "the chief of the pirates." The details of the conflict are not in our possession, but we know that the brigand chief came out of it a legitimate emperor, in virtue of a treaty which admitted his title of Augustus and left to him the kingdom of which he had taken possession (290). The British mints issued coins with the figure of Hercules, "preserver of the three Augusti;" and others bear the words: "Carausius and his brothers."

This treaty was a confession of impotence, but Diocletian



Coin of Carausius, with the Legend: **VIRTVS CAR-AVSI.** (Cohen, No. 35.)



Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian Hercules.²

¹ He is known as Mamertinus, but the name is not given by the older manuscripts.

² **CARAVSIUS ET FRATRES SUI.** Radiate head of Carausius, with the bare heads of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules. (Small bronze.)

considered it as an armistice necessary until more propitious days should come. He was not willing that Maximian should divert his attention and his troops from Germany; he himself had been obliged to go into Syria, in order to keep watch upon Egypt, where turbulent Alexandria was causing anxiety, and upon the Persians, whose courage had been revived by the death of Carus. The prolonged sojourn of the emperor and an army so near the Persian frontier, together with a civil war caused by a competitor for the throne, decided king Bahram to avoid all disagreements with the Romans. His envoys came to meet Diocletian as the emperor drew near the Euphrates, bringing presents from their master and soliciting his friendship.

Diocletian for the moment asked nothing more, preoccupied as he was with an affair more important for the security of the Empire than any new victory over cavalry impossible to capture. For the last twenty-seven years Armenia had been a Persian province, and since the time of Augustus, even since that of Pompey, the traditional policy of Rome had been to retain this country under her influence. An heir to the Armenian crown, Tiridates, was now living at the imperial court, and by his amiable deportment had gained the regard of the most important men; also by his courage, his strength, and skill in martial exercise, the esteem and respect of the soldiers. This prince was an invaluable instrument for the execution of a design suggested to the mind of Diocletian by the anarchy prevailing in Persia. Given up to all the woes of a foreign dominion, Armenia had been wounded in her religion and in her patriotism; the statues of her kings had been thrown down, the objects of her worship profaned, and her nobles excluded from public office. A violent hatred brooded in the hearts of all.¹ Everything was ready for a revolution, and the domestic troubles of Persia rendered success probable. Tiridates set out, with the instructions and good wishes of Diocletian, but without ostensible assistance. This was, in fact, not needed, and would moreover have been a violation of the promised friendship lately granted to king Bahram. As soon as the new claimant appeared defections occurred in every direction. Tiridates ascended

¹ See p. 422.

the throne of his fathers and henceforth held in the interest of Rome that great fortress of Armenia which protected against the Persians Asia Minor and a part of the Syrian provinces (287).

This bloodless victory, gained by statecraft, was an important success. To avoid all complaints on the part of the Persian king, Diocletian had quitted Syria before the departure of Tiridates on this expedition. A rescript shows him to have been in Thrace in the middle of October, 286;¹ he then went into Pannonia, which was ravaged by Sarmatian bands, and into Rhætia, where it was needful to show the eagles. Following the example of the great emperors he visited the frontiers, to restore security with the restoration of respect for the name of Rome; and everywhere he repaired the line of defences which had been trodden down under the feet of the barbarians.³

Maximian had come from Gaul to meet his colleague; in their conference doubtless were concerted the measures against



Maximian.²

¹ Mommsen, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der in den Rechtsbüchern enthaltenen Verordnungen Diocletians*, in the *Journal of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin*, 1860, pp. 349-447. Tillemont had already begun this work in his learned history, and Godefroy has given a chronology of the laws of the *Theodosian Code*, vol. i. pp. 5-214, edit. of 1737.

² Half figure of marble; fragment of an armed statue found in the capital of Carinthia. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 980, No. 2,526.)

³ *Omnia quæ priorum labe conciderant resurgentia, tot urbes diu silvis obsitas instaurari mœnibus castra toto Rhœni et Istri et Euphratis limite restituta* (Eumenes, *Paneg. veter.*, iv. 18). Suidas (s. v. *ἰσχυρία*) speaks in the same way: ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς λόγον ποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων, ψήθη δὲ δυνάμεσιν ἀκούσας ἑκάστην ἰσχυρίαν ὀχυρῶσαι καὶ φρούρια ποιεῖσαι.

Carausius which that skilful usurper was so well able to defeat the following year. The rare and confused documents of this period do not enable us to reconstruct its life;¹ we are reduced to gathering up in the panegyrics or the political pamphlets, two very muddy springs, a few isolated facts, without being able to establish between them that connection of cause and effect which forms the solid texture of history. The rescripts of the emperors show indeed the cities where they were at the time, but give no hint of the interests which had called them thither; these interests can only be conjectured by placing beside the dates inscribed on these decrees the legend of some coin, or a word let fall by the poor writers of the time. Thus we find in February, 291, Maximian at Rheims, at Trèves, and in the country of the Nervii, where, carrying out the disastrous policy of Augustus and Tiberius, he established Frankish prisoners as colonists.² In January, 290, Diocletian is at Sirmium, in February at Adrianopolis, in April at Byzantium, in May at Antioch. He expels from Syria the Saracens who have come in to pillage, and we find him again at Sirmium in the middle of July. This was like the activity of Cæsar.³ It has not been usual to recognize this diligence and this laborious life in the emperor who established that severe etiquette whose supreme expression came to be the immovable majesty of the Byzantine emperors.

The occurrences which recalled Diocletian in so great haste to the shores of the Danube, where he remained till the close of this year 290, were the great national movements then agitating Germany. Sanguinary encounters were taking place: the Goths were falling upon those of the Burgundians who had followed them in the East, the Taifales and the Thervinges upon the Gepidæ and the Vandals;⁴ it was impossible to say what might arise out of this confusion—possibly a new invasion. But the emperors guarded the frontier and nothing could pass.

¹ Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Zonaras give each of them but a few lines to Diocletian, and scarcely more can be extracted from the bad rhetoric of the panegyrists or the eloquent invectives of Lactantius. What Zosimus says of Diocletian has been lost.

² Also, possibly, Sarmatian. Ausonius, in his poem on the Moselle, speaks of Sarmatian colonies established near Trèves.

³ . . . *illum modo Syria viderat, jam Pannonia suscepit* (*Paneg. veter.*, iii. 4).

⁴ *Paneg. veter.*, iii. 16 and 17: *Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi . . . obstinateque feritatis penas, nunc sponte persolvunt.*



II.—THE TETRARCHY.

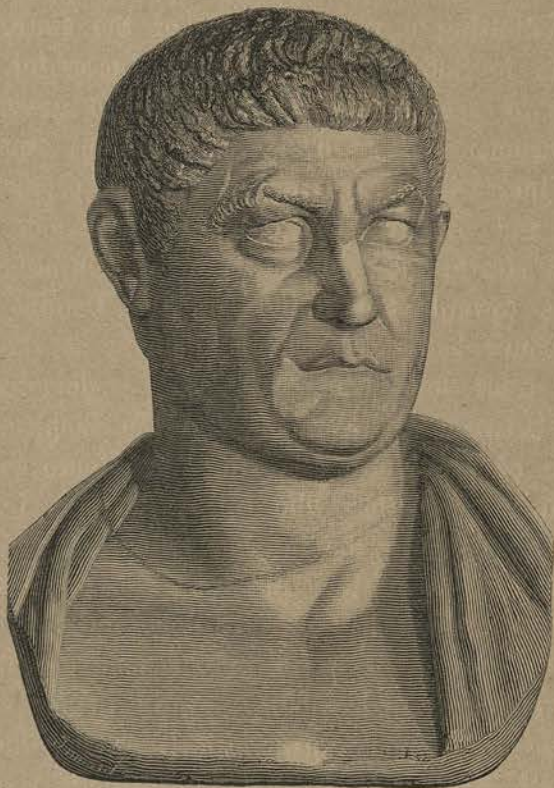
At the beginning of the year 291 the two Augusti crossed the Alps in the middle of winter to have another conference at Milan.¹ Diocletian was meditating a reorganization of the state. The division of power made in 286 was only partially successful, because the part assigned to each emperor was still too great for the action of the government to be everywhere prompt and effectual. Dangers were increasing. In the East, the pacific Bahram was about to die, and the Persians to become once more a source of danger. In the North, the barbaric world was pushing forward its turbulent tribes towards the Rhine and the Danube. The Chemavi and the Frisones had seized upon Batavia at the mouths of the Rhine, a tract half land, half sea, a domain divided with less certainty between the Germans and the Empire. At this time all the shore of the North sea, from the Meuse to Jutland, was bordered with a population who sailed the seas in search of Gallic merchant vessels. In the interior extensive provinces were becoming detached from the Empire. Egypt was about to proclaim an emperor, Britain had already done it, which signified that both countries were aspiring to independence; and the Moors of Africa were claiming their liberty, sword in hand. Diocletian considered it wise to complete his political system; he decided that the two Augusti should take to themselves, under the title of Cæsars, two lieutenants, their necessary heirs. It was his hope that the Empire would thus be better guarded, the ambition of subalterns more certainly controlled, and the grave question of the succession settled, without giving opportunity in future for the soldiers to intervene with their caprices and their demands. The first day of March, 293, Constantius and Galerius were proclaimed Cæsars.²

Theoretically this conception was a happy one; with Diocletian it could succeed, thanks to the authority which his wisdom, proved by ten years of firm and successful rule, gave him; and it is with

¹ The memory of this occasion was consecrated by coins bearing the words: *Concordia Augg.*

² Orelli, No. 467, and *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,439. The two Cæsars were designated consuls for the year 294, and must have been so from the first year which followed their elevation.

good reason that contemporaries have praised the harmony which he knew how to maintain among princes of characters so different. But in this system he did not take into account the rivalries which would inevitably break out after his time from the impatient



Constantius Chlorus. (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 80.)

ambition of the Cæsars and the mutual jealousy of the Augusti who would succeed the founders of this tetrarchy. This plan had the fate of so many other projects inspired by political sagacity, but sure to fail through passion or contrary circumstances. However, when we add to this reform in the constitution of the government that which Diocletian also made in the administration, we shall be obliged to recognize in this ruler a very high order of intellect and to place him in the first rank of Roman emperors. The name of Charlemagne has

remained great, although his work also failed; it is true that it lasted for a longer time.¹

Galerius was a Dacian who had been a shepherd in his youth,

¹ Charlemagne pursued the same plan as did Diocletian, in giving three of his sons the title of kings, while holding them subject to his superior will. At the division of 817 the sons of Louis le Débonnaire were similarly placed. Charlemagne also organized his army on the Roman principle, that the military service was a charge on property. Again, like the Romans, he laid the keeping up of roads and bridges upon the adjacent landowners, who were bound, moreover, to furnish subsistence for the emperor or his agents when passing over their lands. One of the injunctions of Charlemagne to his counts in respect to their fiscal vigilance is a sentence from two of Justinian's *novellæ* (viii. 8, and xvii. 1), and his bishops were like Constantine's, public functionaries. How many Roman institutions we find in the Middle Ages, if we examine them closely!

and whose family, fleeing before the invasion of the Carpæ, had taken refuge near Sardica (Sophia) in the Dacia of Aurelian. From a shepherd he became a soldier. He was another Maximian, rude and coarse, but like him again obedient and faithful; illiterate but not without courage; of violent and cruel nature; good in a secondary position if held there, but detestable when in the highest rank.¹ With Constantius, on the contrary, reappeared qualities that had been long unknown in the emperors: gentle and elegant manners, a cultivated mind, an amiable character, and, a thing always of importance in the midst of these parvenus, a noble



GAL. VALERIA
AUGUSTA, Daughter
of Diocletian
and Wife of Galerius.
(Silver Coin.)



FL. MAX. THEO-
DORA AUG.,
Second Wife of
Constantius
Chlorus. (Small
Bronze.)



CONSTANTIUS
ET MAXI-
MIANUS AUG.
Laurelled Heads.
(Medium Bronze.)

lineage, his mother being a niece of Claudius Gothicus and his father descended from an old Macedonian family. Under Aurelian he had distinguished himself by defeating the Alemanni near Windisch (274), and Carus, it is said, had thought of adopting him. The pallor of his countenance had caused him to be called by the Greeks Chlorus, or the Yellow, and to attach themselves to his race, all the emperors, down to Theodosius, took his family name, Flavius,² as Severus and his successors had taken those of the Antonines. Being appointed Cæsar before Galerius, Constantius was to succeed that one of the two Augusti who should first quit the world or the political stage.

Constantius and Galerius were married. They now repudiated their wives, of whom one, Helena, who had been united to

¹ Church writers have accumulated all forms of accusation against Galerius. According to them he was made up entirely of vices and cruelties. Eutropius speaks otherwise of him: *vir et probe moratus et egregius in re militari* (x. 2). As administrator, the Empire owed him a new province, Valeria, which he formed in Pannonia by turning a forest into cultivated land and causing the Danube to flow into Lake Pelso. (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 40.)

² The usurper Maximus gave this *gentilicium* to his son Victor (Wilmanus, 824). Eugenius took it, and Valentinian III. again bore it (*ibid.*, 645).

Constantius by that marriage of the second order which the Romans called concubinage,¹ has remained famous as the mother of Constantine and a zealous Christian. After this sacrifice made to policy, the Cæsars married the daughters of the two Augusti: Galerius, the daughter of Diocletian, whose lieutenant he was; Constantius, the daughter of Maximian, under whose orders he was placed. Each was subordinated to the emperor, whose faults he balanced or whose virtues he complemented by opposite merits; warlike energy was joined with wisdom, mildness with strength. Diocletian took with him the youth Constantine, then nineteen years of age. It was as a pledge of the father's fidelity, a needless precaution in the case of such a man as Constantius, but one long practised at the imperial court.²

Diocletian had reserved to himself the administration of the

¹ Zosimus, Orosius, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* affirm this; S. Ambrose implies it; the Benedictines, his editors, admit it (note to the *Opera S. Ambrosii*, vol. ii. p. 1,210); and we find no weight in the objections which Tillemont draws from the virtuous character of Constantius Chlorus, and Gibbon from the condition of illegitimacy which would have prevented Constantine from being his father's heir. It has been already explained (p. 25, n. 2) that there was no disgrace attached to marriages of this kind. Many reasons gave cause for them, among others, the inferior condition of the woman, and we know that Helena was an innkeeper's daughter, *stabularia*, says S. Ambrose. Constantine had also, before his elevation, a concubine, Minervina, who was the mother of Crispus (Zosimus, ii. 20; the author of the *Epitome*, 41, and Zonaras, xiii. 2). Concubinage was a real marriage, *conjugium inæquale*, says Theodosius; *licita consuetudo*, says Justinian; and it was as well accepted by the legists and by the Church as is in our days the morganatic marriage of the Germans. The bishop of Seville, S. Isidore, wrote: *Christiano non duas simul habere licitum est, aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris concubinam*; and the Fathers of the first Council of Toledo, in 400, think the same in their seventeenth canon: *qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet a communione non repellatur*. Similar decisions were made by the Councils of Mayence, 815, and of Tibur, 895. The condition of the children of these unions was not in civil law the same with that of children born of full legal marriages. Thus Libanius, in his twelfth discourse, asserts that the brothers of Constantine, born of Theodora, had more right than he to the Empire, which would confirm Gibbon's opinion. But Constantius Chlorus and Constantine did not feel themselves bound by these ancient rules. Each of them had a son grown to manhood, capable of succeeding his father and meanwhile of being useful to him, and also children of a second marriage who were still very young. The eldest was useful—necessary, even; the others were not so; and the omnipotence of the two Augusti sanctioned all. Constantine, so severe on "unequal marriages" (law of 337, *Code Just.*, v. 27, 1), made a law giving all the rights of legitimate children to those born while their parents were living in concubinage, if the latter should afterwards contract *justæ nuptiæ* (*ibid.*, v. 27, 5). It would seem as if this law, whose date is unknown, may have been suggested to Constantine by the memory of his mother and of his first wife.

² When Maxentius demanded of the viceroy of Africa that the latter should give him his son as a hostage, he refused to do it (Zosimus, ii. 12). Aur. Victor says of Galerius that he detained Constantine at his court, *ad vicem obsidis* (*Cæs.*, 40). Commodus retained at Rome the sons of the governors of provinces (Herodian, iii. 4). Before the news of his proclamation as emperor arrived at Rome, Severus caused his children to be removed from the city.

East, with Egypt, Libya, the islands, and Thrace; Galerius was to take charge of the Danubian provinces and Illyricum, with Macedon, Greece, and Crete. In the West, Maximian had the government of Italy, Africa, and Spain, and Constantius had Gaul and Britain.¹

The Cæsars, being invested with the tribunitian power² and the military *imperium*, were treated as regal personages, and wore the diadem;³ their names were often placed with those of the Augusti at the head of edicts, but they issued none by their own authority; and in the case of an ordinance made for a part of the Empire governed by a Cæsar, the act bore indeed with the names of the two Augusti that of the Cæsar concerned in its execution, but never the name of the other Cæsar. The legislative power remained undivided between the two Augusti, as it had been between Severus and Caracalla and between Valerian and Gallienus; or rather, it was entirely in the hands of him who was the soul of this government, Diocletian.⁴ The Augusti entered the Cæsarian provinces at their pleasure, and exercised in this a supreme authority. Thus, in the absence of the Gallic Cæsar, Maximian guarded the Rhenish frontier, and Diocletian in residing at Sirmium was not outside his imperial domain; most of his rescripts are dated from Illyricum or from Thrace. The Cæsar received orders and even reprimands from the Augustus. We shall see that Diocletian called Galerius into the East after a defeat which the latter had suffered, and treated him with the severity of early times.⁵ It seems as if there reappeared, under other names and with a great difference in the duration of the authority, the ancient dictator and his master of the horse.

Each one of the four rulers selected a capital. The two Cæsars established themselves on the frontier: Galerius at Sirmium, the central point of defence in the middle valley of the Danube; Constantius by turns at Trèves or at York, to protect Gaul or

¹ Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 8) gives Spain to Maximian; referring to the persecution by Diocletian, he says further (chap. xvi.): *Vexabatur universa terra, præter Gallias*, where Constantine was in command.* Tingitanian Mauretania formed part of the district of Spain.

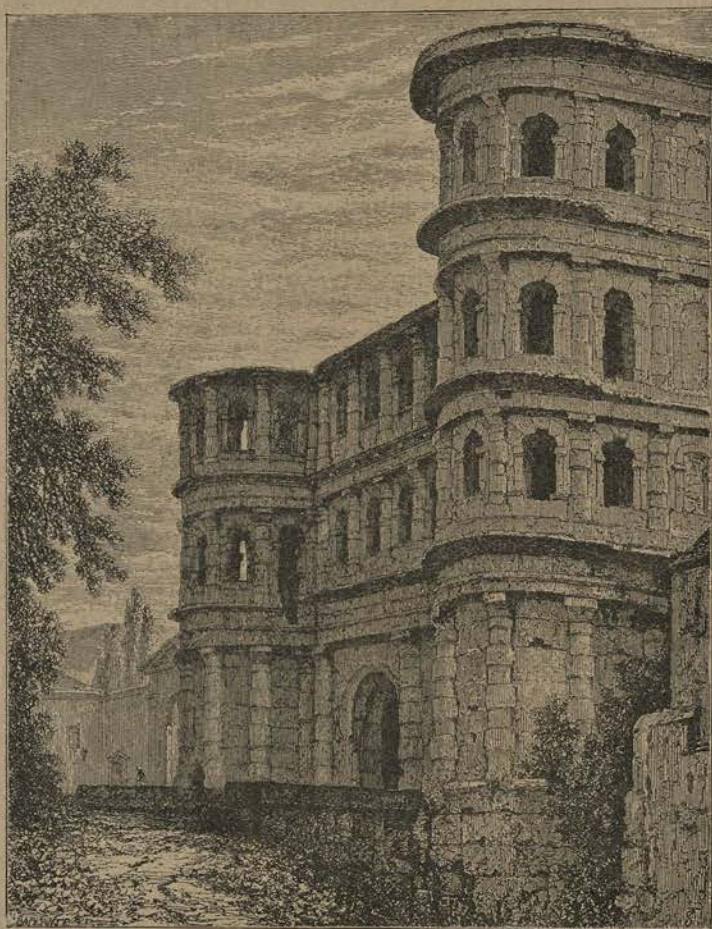
² Wilmanns, 1,061, and *Paneg. veter.*, v. 1: . . . *cum apud majestatem tuam divina virtutum vestrarum miracula prædicarim*. The Cæsars were called *nobilissimi*.

³ Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, i. 18.

⁴ . . . *Valerium ut parentem suspiciebant* (Aur. Victor, 39).

⁵ Under Constantius the Cæsars, Gallus and Julian, were merely lieutenants of the emperor.

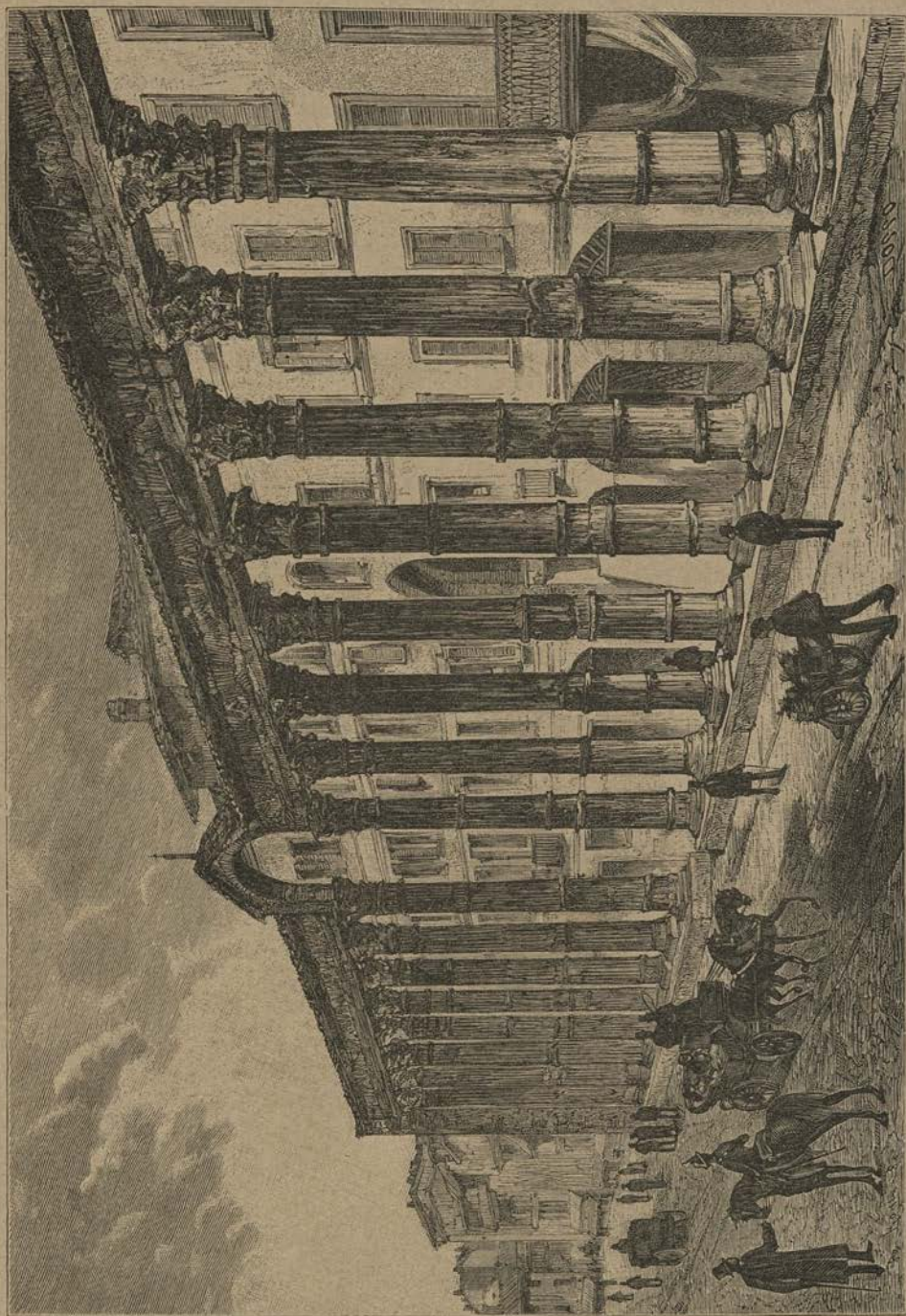
Britain. The two Augusti placed themselves in the second line: Maximian at Milan,¹ behind the Alps, but having within reach the Germans who were making an attempt to establish themselves in Rhætia and the upper valley of the Rhine; and Diocletian at



Roman Gate, called the Black Gate, at Trèves.

Nicomedia, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, whence he kept watch at once upon the Tigris, the lower Danube, and the Euxine, by way of which so many dangerous invasions had come in. At the same time no one of them confined himself to the city which

¹ Here Maximian built a palace and baths, of which there remain the sixteen columns which decorate San Lorenzo. The church itself, of octagonal form and surmounted with a cupola, like the so-called temple of Jupiter at Salona, seems also to have been one of the great halls of the palace or of the thermæ of Maximian mentioned by Ausonius in his little poem, *Ordo nobilium urbium*.



Milan: the Sixteen Antique Columns of San Lorenzo. (From a Photograph.)

he had made his chief residence; incessantly they were in motion along the frontier, which was well guarded; and if the barbarians did not fall back, at least they no longer advanced.

Constantius had orders to resume against Carausius the expedition which had failed in 289. The treaty signed after the Roman defeat had been violated by the usurper's alliance with the Franks, to whom he promised the islands of the Batavi and all the coast as far as the river Schelde; the plundering of the Gallic coast had doubtless been recommenced.¹ Carausius had a garrison at Boulogne and a squadron in the harbour; Constantius closed the port by a dyke, and both garrison and vessels were obliged to surrender. Before attempting a descent into Britain he made an expedition against the Franks, pursuing them into their marshes between the Wahal, the Rhine, and Lake Flevo, a submerged territory easy to defend, but badly defended, however, by the barbarians.³ He drove them back into Germany, and distributed his numerous captives under the title of colonists through certain portions of the territory of Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres, which had been laid waste by the Bagaudæ.⁴

Carausius was assassinated in 293 by his prætorian prefect Allectus, who took his place and kept it three years; but the new master of Britain had neither the talent nor the authority



Roman Vase found in the Neighbourhood of Amiens.²

¹ . . . bellum quod cunctis provinciis videbatur (*Pan. vet.*, v. 7).

² This bronze vase is part of the collection of M. Danicourt of Péroune. We give it in its actual size.

³ *Illa regio . . . terra non est* (*Pan. vet.*, v. 8).

⁴ As late as the seventh century there existed, near Langres, a *pagus Chamavorum*, (Guérard, *Divisions territoriales de la Gaule*.)

of "the arch-pirate."¹ The prætorian prefect, Asclepiodotus, having collected a fleet off the mouth of the Seine, crossed unseen one foggy day and landed in the southern part of the island. To increase the determination of his soldiers the Roman burnt his vessels. Allectus was awaiting in the Isle of Wight the attack of Constantius, who had another fleet at Boulogne. Rendered anxious by the descent of the prefect, he hastened in disorder to meet him, was defeated and killed; and when Constantius arrived on the coast of Kent the population, happy to be rid of these emperors, who for ten years had isolated them from the rest of the Empire, welcomed him as a saviour (296).



Allectus,
Crowned with
Laurel.

The city of London was already the chief market of England, and the barbarian auxiliaries of Allectus had hastened thither in order to pillage. A part of Constantius's fleet, astray in the fog, had got into the Thames; carried by the tide these vessels arrived before the city in season to save it, a service which the inhabitants recognized with gratitude.²

Maximian had quitted Milan, his usual residence, and had come to exhibit to the barbarians, in the absence of Constantius, the imperial purple, that he might remove from them all inclination to take advantage of the departure of the troops and fall upon Gaul. The expedition being ended he set out for Africa, and the Cæsar returned to keep in his turn the guard over the Rhine. This vigilance could not be for a moment slackened, for the Alemanni never resisted the temptation to make a raid into the Gallic provinces. In 301 they crossed the Rhine, the Ill, and the Vosges mountains, and very nearly captured Constantius himself near Langres. He had been wounded and had only time to have himself drawn up with ropes to the top of the rampart.³ Some troops were in the neighbourhood who, hastening up, chased away these marauders; Eutropius represents them as an immense army, speaking of 60,000 killed and an enormous number of prisoners. Eusebius reduces the number of the slain to 6,000, which is still large. The captives were given up, under the title

¹ . . . archipiratarum satellites occidit (*Pan. vet.*, v. 12).

² *Ibid.*, v. 17.

³ Eutropius, ix. 23.

of colonists or *Læti*, to the Lingones and Treveri owning land. They thus occupied, with the consent of the Empire, the left bank of the Rhine, where, except in the cities, they caused the German race and speech to predominate.¹ Eumenes saw some of them come as far Trèves and even Autun, "accompanied by their wives and children; sad, desperate, or wildly shaking their chains; but by degrees they grew milder, cultivated the soil which they once ravaged, or, at the call of the generals, they eagerly resumed their weapons, bent to the centurion's discipline, and were willing to fight and die for those who had torn them from the paternal forests."

This Eumenes, whose works we have, was the friend and secretary of Constantius: an unsuccessful rival of Cicero, he wrote panegyrics, where rhetoric and hyperbole have more place than eloquence and truth. Some interesting details, however, are found in his writings concerning the schools of Autun. Constantius caused this city to rise from its ruins; he rebuilt its baths, temples, and the aqueduct which brought abundant water; he also strove to reconstruct the moral city, restoring life and distinction to its schools, whither formerly the Gallic youth flocked in crowds, and he wrote to Eumenes, putting him in charge of these schools, a letter which does him great honour: "Our Gauls deserve from us that we should take care of their children, and what better could we offer them than knowledge, the only thing that fortune can neither give nor take away? Accordingly we have determined to place you at the head of these schools, to which we desire to restore all their former distinction. You will there direct the mind of youth towards the study of better living. Do not fear that in accepting you will derogate from the honours you have already acquired. That you may understand that our esteem for you is proportioned to your merits, your salary will be 600,000 sesterces, paid by the state."²

¹ The *Notitia dignitatum* (ii. 119-122) indicates an extensive distribution of the *Læti* through Gaul, and only there. These *Læti*, who have given rise to so many discussions, did not belong to any one German tribe; they were either captives whom the Empire established upon deserted territory, or German adventurers who had solicited lands in return for military service. Guérard says in the *Polyptique d'Irminon* (i. p. 254): "I have no doubt that the name *Læti* had the signification of *auxilia* in the language of the nations of Germany. The word *lid* or *led* has preserved this meaning in the most ancient monuments of the northern languages."

² *Pan. vet.*, iv. 14. In 376, at Trèves, the professor of eloquence, *rhetor*, received thirty rations: *triginta annonas*; the *grammaticus Latinus* twenty; the *grammaticus Græcus* twelve, *si qui dignus reperiri potuerit*. (*Code Théol.*, xiii. 3, 11.)

We must place it to the credit of this emperor that, in the days of the Roman decline, he had a taste for noble objects, and bestowed magnificent recompenses upon those who kept alive the last embers of the sacred fire, now so nearly extinct.

Eumenes was worthy of his master; he employed his 600,000 sesterces in the reconstruction of the schools, and they were opened with great public ceremonial. The governor of the province presided at the festival, and Eumenes made his finest oration. Words of sincere emotion are found in this address, and even of eloquence, when he exclaims, for example, pointing out to the governor's notice the distant ruins of the gymnasium which is about to be rebuilt: "You have seen on the walls of these porticos the earth represented with its nations, its cities and rivers, with its continents that the ocean enwraps like a girdle, that it separates from one another, or that it cleaves with its impetuous waves. In the presence of these pictures we shall explain the world, and relate the history of our invincible princes. When the messengers of victory come to tell us that our emperors are visiting arid Libya, or Persia with the twin rivers, or the shores of the Nile or of the Rhine, we shall say to the youth gathered about us: 'Do you see this region? This is Egypt, chastized by Diocletian and now reposing after its tumults. Here is Carthage and Africa, where Maximian exterminated the revolted Moors. This land is Batavia; this island Britain, with its gloomy forests, rearing its rough head above the waves, these Constantius holds under his powerful hand. Yonder, Galerius treads under foot the bows and quivers of the Persians.' It is a pleasure to study a representation of the world where there is nothing which does not belong to ourselves."¹ We have been accustomed to believe that our own age invented "object lessons;" but the Romans already had the idea 2,000 years ago.²

The expedition into Africa of which Eumenes speaks took

¹ *Pro restaurandis scholis*, 20.

² *Ibid.*, 20: . . . quo manifestius oculis discernentur quæ difficiliter percipiuntur auditu. Horace had already said the same thing in his *Ars Poetica*, 180: Varro (*de Re rust.*) speaks of a picture representing *in pariete pictam Italiam*: Propertius, iv. 3, 37: . . . e *tabula pictos ediscere mundos*. This was, says Florus, at the beginning of his History, a common usage, practised from the time of Alexander, adds Ælianus (*Hist. Var.*, iii. 28), and Agrippa did but follow it. *Erat autem*, says Pliny (*Ep.*, viii. 14), *antiquitus institutum ut a majoribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus*.

place in 297. Five powerful Moorish nations had taken up arms. "They were," say the writers of the time, "the most savage of the African races." Like the tribes of the Sahara, always ready for a raid upon the Algerine oases, these Moors had often burned the farms of the African colonists. One of Diocletian's lieutenants had already several times encountered them.¹ In 293 they recommenced their incursions, and threw the whole province into a state of uneasiness, which a usurper, Julian (?) by name, profited by to assume the purple in Carthage. This usurpation rendered the situation so serious that the Augustus of the Western provinces felt it necessary to show himself in Africa. After defeats, concerning which we have no details, Julian died by his own hand; the conquered Moors were pursued into the most inaccessible retreats in the Atlas, and the captives made among them were transported into the provinces. To stifle the last embers of this fire, for a moment formidable, Maximian remained in Africa till the middle of the year 298.

These successes of the Cæsar and the Augustus of the Western provinces were matched by those of Galerius upon the Middle Danube, which river he had in charge. The Iazyges were defeated and a part of the nation of the Carpæ transported into Pannonia (295).

Some years later, in 299, the Sarmatians and the Bastarnæ were also constrained to emigrate to the right bank of the Danube.² This system, begun in the first days of the Empire, was then always carried out; Constantine, Valens, and Theodosius in turn continued it, and the frontier provinces were thus peopled with secret enemies who were to begin by driving out the Roman civilization, and afterwards to open the gates to other invaders. The emperors believed their power eternal—they expected to have time to Romanize these foreign colonists; but it was the barbarians who, from the Schelde to the Save, Germanized the zone of colonization that was given up to them and peopled with Slavs the peninsula of the Balkans.

Diocletian had remained during these years in Pannonia,

¹ *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, January, 1882, p. 16.

² *Ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt* (Eutrop., ix. 25). Even the bodyguard of the emperors was formed of barbarians. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 38.)

Mœsia, and Thrace, visiting the defences of the Danube,¹ inspiring salutary fear among the barbarians who bordered its left bank, and notwithstanding this prolonged stay on the extreme frontier, remaining in a sense present at all points of the Empire by the attention he gave to its wants. A multitude of rescripts dated from these regions show his legislative activity.² Under the powerful influence of this great prince the Empire revived, security was restored to the provinces, and for this vast body, including all the civilized life of the world, it was enough to bring back prosperity that a strong hand kept the barbarians at bay and the soldiers submissive.



Coin of Domitius Domitianus Achilæus.³

There was a country, however, in which prosperity did not again revive: turbulent Egypt. In the capital of that country seethed an immense population of men of all races, conditions, and faiths, and

under that burning sun men readily became hot-headed. Worshipers of Serapis, of Jehovah or of Jesus, sceptics and *illuminati*, philosophers in search of the absolute, and neophytes who believed they had found it, all detested and despised one another. Hatred brought about riots and riots became revolt; as soon as one man had struck all came to blows; the streets were full of dead bodies, and in the harbour the sea was red with blood. "There is not a Christian," says the bishop Dionysius, "who is not involved on one side or the other." On Easter day the church stood empty, for all men were at the barricades. The murders of which the bishop speaks were in the reign of Gallienus; but the spirit of revolt still possessed the great city. We have seen Aurelian and Probus obliged to visit Alexandria to overthrow usurpers, and

¹ Idacius places at this time the construction of the strongholds in the country of the Sarmatians, on the left bank of the Danube, and inscriptions mention the reconstruction, by Diocletian and Maximian, of cities in Switzerland, Africa, etc. The oration of Eumènes, *pro restaurandis scholis*, testifies to the immense works at that time going on for the fortification of the frontiers along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. From the *Notitia* have been counted 103 strongholds or fortified positions in the Eastern Empire.

² Letter from Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, vii. 21.

³ IMP. CL. DOMITIVS DOMITIANVS AVG., surrounding a wreathed head of the usurper. On the reverse: GENIO POPULI ROMANI ALE, around the Genius of the Roman people. (Bronze coin.)

under the reign of Diocletian, Achilleus even ventured to assume the purple there.¹

This rebellion was a misfortune for Rome, as it hindered its provisioning; but it was not a peril to the Empire, since no dangerous enemy could come from Egypt. The emperors, no longer residing in their ancient capital, heard not the starving cries of its populace, who demanded indeed *panem et circenses*, but made no riots. The insurrection breaking out in Alexandria did not turn them away then from the more important cares which detained them upon the northern frontier. This region being pacified, Diocletian directed his route towards Egypt, arriving there in the middle of the year 295. Alexandria held out against all his efforts for eight months, he only entered the city after having cut the aqueducts which brought the water of the Canopic branch. To put an end to these perpetual revolts, which were a dangerous example, he gave the city up to a military execution; it was sacked, and blood flowed in torrents. Coptos and Busiris had the same fate.² The country was then reorganized. Eutropius, who lived nearly a century later, says that this reorganization, of which he does not give the particulars, was in existence still in his time.³ Like Augustus, Diocletian respected the Egyptian religion; but in that land of prodigies and credulity books of occult science were everywhere in circulation, and these the emperor caused to be seized and burned.⁴ He did another service to Egypt by protecting it against the Blemyes, who plundered the caravans coming from ports of the Red Sea and infested the Thebaïd with their brigandage. Instead of wasting his time and strength in tracking

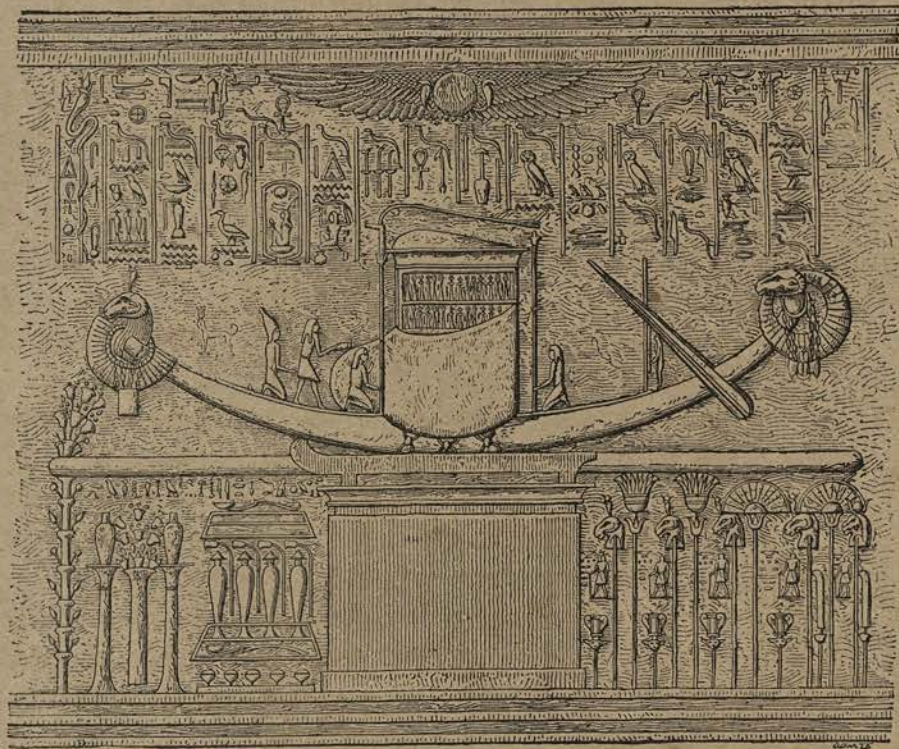
¹ Eutrop., ix. 22; Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39. On the authority of a medal, Tillemont represents this Achilleus as reigning six years. But Diocletian was not the man to have allowed an insurrection to exist for so long a time that could possibly be suppressed, and Eckhel (vol. iv. p. 96) declares this medal false.

² Malalas (xii. p. 309) relates one of those stories so dear to the Oriental mind: Diocletian had given orders to kill until the blood should come to his horse's knees; but the horse having stumbled over a corpse, got up with his knees bloody. It was a sign sent by the gods; the emperor comprehended it and stopped the massacre.

³ ix. 23: . . . *ordinavit provide multa . . . quæ ad nostram ætatem manent.*

⁴ "Egypt was the headquarters of the occult sciences, to which sciences the Chaldeans seem to have added nothing except horoscopy and prophecy, founded on an examination of the skies" (Revillout, *Revue égyptol.*, i. p. 147). Diocletian prohibited throughout the Empire divination by astrological diagrams, *ars mathematica damnabilis est et interdicta omnino* (*Code Just.*, ix. 18, 2).

them in their deserts, he called in the little garrisons scattered through Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Cataracts, where they were too feeble to hinder anything. It was a movement of falling back; but the Empire in concentrating made itself stronger. A numerous garrison occupied the island of Philæ and entrenched themselves strongly there; another was posted on an inner line, at Maximianopolis, which had been built on the ruins



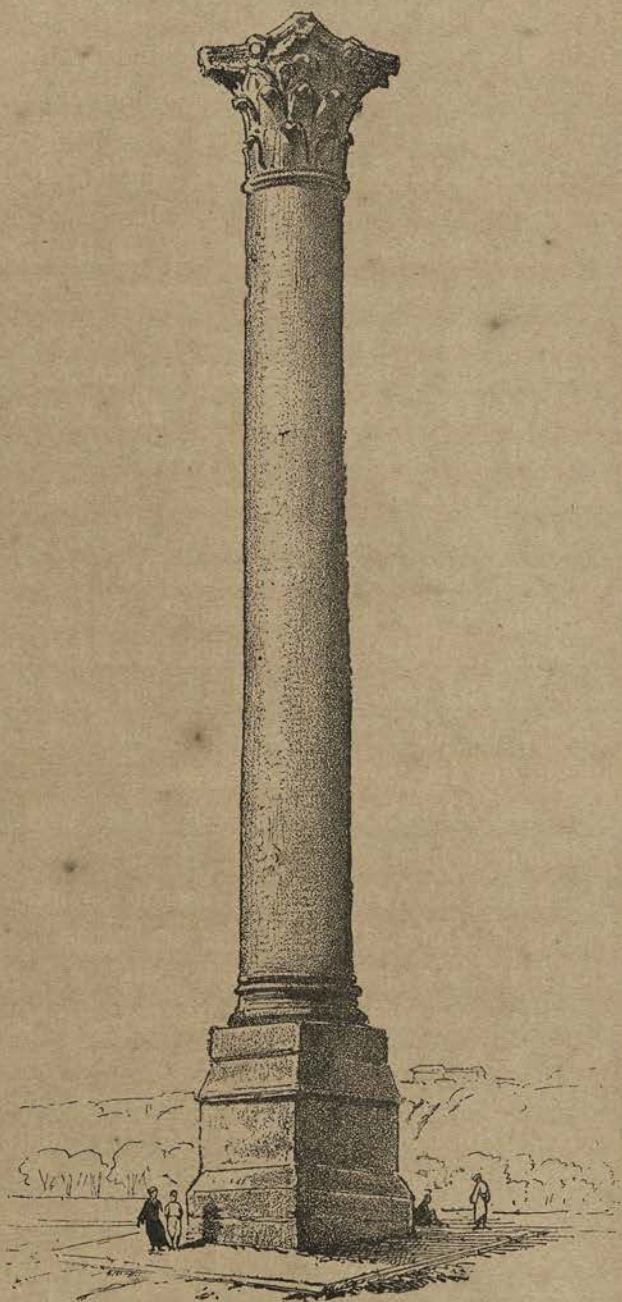
Sacred Egyptian Barque carrying a Shrine. (Perrot's *Ancient Art*.)

of Coptos; a wall, connected with the defences of the island, barred the whole valley, and remains of this wall are still to be seen. Not to neglect any means of making this frontier secure, he negotiated with the Blemyes, who for an annual subsidy agreed no longer to molest Egyptian commerce. The agreement was consecrated by religious ceremonies in the temple of Isis. The Blemyes were fervent worshippers of the Egyptian goddess; they claimed free access to her temple, and the renewal of the old law which authorized their priests¹ to come annually to the island and

¹ Letronne, *Mémoires pour l'histoire du christianisme en Égypte*, etc., pp. 74 et seq.

carry away her image to keep it for a certain time in their country. In an inscription which appears to be of the time of the Antonines we read: "Upon the Nile I have seen the rapid barques bringing back the sacred temples from the land of the Ethiopians." These temples were coffers, most frequently gilded, which contained a statuette of Isis. Diocletian would never have consented to let a Latin divinity make excursions after this fashion; but the supreme pontiff of Rome did not concern himself with regard to the adventures of Isis, and since the Blemyes attached importance to these pilgrimages, he deemed it wise to allow them.

He had written his name in blood on the walls of Alexandria but he reorganized a method of relief for the poor;¹ and the fickle-minded city saw without displeasure the prefect Pompeius



Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria.

¹ It had already long existed there. See p. 396. Procopius (*Historia Arcana*, chap. xxvi.)

erect a column surmounted with the statue of Diocletian, with an inscription in honour of "the invincible emperor." The statue exists no longer, and the column still standing near the harbour does not even bear the name of Diocletian, "the tutelary Genius of Alexandria;" it has long been believed a monument of him who was defeated at Pharsalia, and is called to this day "Pompey's Pillar."¹

In 294 Narses, second son of the peace-loving Bahram, had assumed in Ctesiphon the diadem of Persia. He was a valiant prince, who occupied himself in re-awakening the martial ardour of his people; Diocletian was at the time in the interior of Egypt and Galerius in Pannonia, and the Persian judged it a favourable moment to attack Armenia, where he drove out the *protégé* of the Romans, and at the beginning of the year 296 he crossed the Tigris with a numerous army. Narses remembered the prosperity of Sapor and he hoped to emulate it, even to excel it, and to maintain it for a longer time.² Warned by the blow struck at Tiridates, Diocletian had already called into Syria the Cæsar of the Oriental provinces, and himself was approaching Palestine, but slowly, as suited a monarch whose calm majesty was never disturbed by impetuous movements.

Did Galerius know how and why Crassus had perished? Without calumniating him, it may be doubted if he did; but the defeat of Valerian was recent enough to have been clearly in his mind, and it afforded him no lesson. He crossed the Euphrates and led his legions into that plain of Carrhæ where the sand but scantily concealed so many Roman bones. The scenes of former times were repeated; his cavalry could not resist the shock of the cataphractarii, and his heavy infantry, overcome by heat and by thirst, blinded by the dust, in the midst of the rapid squadrons sweeping around it, experienced the fate of the legionaries of Crassus. It is said that Tiridates escaped only by swimming across the Euphrates, weighed down as he was with his armour. Galerius also escaped with his life and the shattered remnant of

speaks of 2,000,000 *modinni*, equal to 12,000,000 *modii*. dispensed at this time. Cf. *Chron. of Alexandria*, ad ann. 302.

¹ C. I. G., 4,681.

² *Ad occupandum Orientem magnis copiis inkiabat* (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 9). Concerning Sapor, see above, pp. 423 *et seq.*

his army. Just outside of Antioch he met Diocletian, who received the defeated general with a severe countenance, and refused to let him enter the imperial chariot. The spectacle was seen of the haughty Cæsar clad in his purple mantle, and with shame upon his brow, walking on foot for the space of a mile before the chariot of the angry Augustus.¹

Diocletian rapidly collected the troops from the camps on the



A Cataphractarius. (From Trajan's Column.)

Danube, enrolled barbarians in the army, especially Goths,² and re-formed the Syrian army, which seems to have been very strongly constituted. He divided it into two corps: with one he took up a position on the Euphrates, to defend the fords in case of need; he put Galerius at the head of the other, tracing out for him the plan of a campaign in which the military experience of the former lieutenant of Probus appeared manifest. He directed the Cæsar to take, in the favourable season, the route formerly followed by Antony across the Armenian mountains, and gave him for a guide

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 11.

² Jordanes, 21.

in this country the expelled king Tiridates. At their approach the people rose to meet them; provisions and information came in abundantly to the camp; the legions had all the advantages which the complicity of the inhabitants gives to an invading army. The Persians came to meet them on this unfavourable battle-ground; and filled with confidence by reason of their recent victory, kept so careless a watch that Galerius with two horsemen was able to come into their very camp in reconnoitring the position. By a vigorous night attack, he created a panic among them and made great slaughter. Narses, who was wounded, escaped with the greatest difficulty, but the wives and children of the Persian king were captured, together with the treasure heaped up in the royal tents (297). Since Alexander's victory at Issus, six centuries before, the Oriental barbaric world had suffered no such affront.



Coin of Narses, Son
of Bahram II.¹

At the news of this brilliant success Diocletian entered Mesopotamia and joined Galerius at Nisibis. The Cæsar talked of repeating Alexander's expedition. The Macædonian conqueror had not been guilty of too great rashness when he hurled the mass of his army upon the empire of Darius and plunged into the remote East to the banks of Indus, for he had nothing to fear from the nations he left behind him. But the Romans, who on the west and south and north had an immense frontier line always threatened, were not in a position to imitate this dangerous enterprise. Diocletian calmed the too impetuous ardour of Galerius, and the Augustus displayed towards the captives that had been taken a consideration not at all usual at that time. When Narses, won by this conduct, made overtures of peace, Diocletian received them cordially. The first condition claimed by the Romans was however rejected.² They wished the Persians to agree to have all commerce with the Empire pass through Nisibis, doubtless in order to simplify the service of the imperial custom-house, and to concentrate the relations between the

¹ Bust of the prince and a legend signifying "the worshipper of Ormuzd, the excellent Narses, king, celestial germ of the gods." (Silver coin.)

² In the *Excerpta de legationibus*, edit. of Bonn, p. 134, are to be found curious details in respect to these negotiations, preserved to us by Peter Patricius. He lived in the time of Justinian, but was able to examine the archives. Cf. *Fragm. Histor. Græcor.*, iv. 188.

two countries at a single point easily to be watched.¹ Narses refused to agree to this and the project was abandoned; but he admitted the Roman possession of northern Mesopotamia, whose limit on the south seemed to admit of being marked by the fortified city of Circesium, near the confluence of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, and by Singara, at the base of a mountain in an arid region, which rendered an attack difficult, but also difficult the bringing of any succour. Nineveh on the Tigris, where for two centuries a Roman colony had maintained itself in some unknown way,² marks perhaps the eastern extremity of this line. In the upper valley of the Tigris the Persians yielded five Armenian provinces which had been conquered by Sapor I., and these in the hands of Rome were now to be used to cover a part of Armenia and Asia Minor against the Persians.³ Tiridates recovered his kingdom, increased by a part of Media Atropatene, and the princes of Iberia in the basin of the Kour relinquished their allegiance to Persia and accepted the supremacy of Rome (297). This treaty was a brilliant success, worth far more than the recapture by Augustus of the standards of Crassus, for it gave the Empire as allies the nations living near the Caspian and the Caucasus, at the same time that the Roman garrisons were establishing themselves in the mountainous region situated on the north of Mesopotamia,

¹ These questions of import dues had so great a financial and political importance for the Empire that a schedule of duties, recently found at Palmyra (De Vogüé, session of the *Acad. des inscr.* of June 1st, 1883), shows that as early as the reign of Tiberius the Romans had interposed in that city for the drawing up of a tariff of which they doubtless shared with the Palmyrenes the products. (Cf. *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 13.) The Roman domination having crossed the Euphrates, Diocletian desired to have Nisibis occupy the position that Palmyra had held, that of being the desert mart between the two empires.

² See on this point p. 74. Nineveh was still a great city in the time of Amm. Marcellinus (xviii. 6), and this author calls it the capital of Adiabene. Its inhabitants, like the Greeks of Seleucia, had doubtless a sort of municipal independence, which permitted them to incline towards whichever of the two empires seemed for the moment the more formidable. The Persians traversed it freely in 359.

³ Uncertainty exists respecting the names of these five provinces, which Peter Patricius and Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. 7) give differently: Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Intelene, and Sophene, according to the former; Zabdicene, Corduene, Arsacene, Moxoene, and Rehimine, according to the latter. We are not able even to assign to them all a well-determined geographical position. It is enough to know, however, that they are all north of Nineveh, in the upper basin of the Tigris and on its eastern shore in the Kurdistan of modern times. During the reign of Julian, Corduene had for governor a Persian satrap of Roman name, Jovianus, a man secretly in sympathy with the imperialists. (Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 6.) The occupation of Corduene by the Persians was merely *de facto*, doubtless acquired in the reign of Constantius, for this province was expressly ceded by Jovian in the treaty of 363.

whereby every attack upon Asia Minor and Syria could be arrested on its advance or defeated by a flank movement. The victory of Galerius and Diocletian's statesmanship bestowed upon Roman Asia a peace that numerous fortresses, built along the eastern frontier, maintained for forty years.¹ The Augustus had well deserved the honour of a triumph; the senate decreed it to him, but he waited six years to celebrate it at Rome.

III.—ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND LEGISLATION.

It is in fable only that Minerva springs full-armed from the brain of Jupiter. In history, political creations are prepared by the travail of ages, and these only are lasting.



Large Bronze of Antoninus, representing him with his Head crowned with Rays and a Nimbus.⁴

More than one emperor before Diocletian had felt the necessity of taking a colleague, of dividing the great administrations, even of sharing the Empire itself,² and enfeebling the prætorians; more than one had allowed himself to be called lord or god,³ and the coins of Trajan and of Antoninus Pius represent them with the radiate crown. The sacred nimbus, which was assumed by the Christian emperors, does not yet appear in the coins of Trajan, and we also see it around the head of the fabulous bird which in Egypt was believed to spring from its own ashes; but those of Antoninus already give him this symbol of immortality. The nations were displeased neither at these titles nor these crowns, for the state religion made it a duty for them to adore the

¹ Malalas says that the line of fortresses constructed by Diocletian extended from Egypt to Persia. See also Suidas, s. v. *ἰσχυρία*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 5.

² Vespasian had set the example of these divisions of provinces. In the time of Caracalla and Geta a division of the imperial authority had been under consideration. See vol. iv. p. 670, and p. 241 of the present volume.

³ Caligula had assumed to be both; Commodus had caused himself to be called god: . . . *ἱκαλεῖτο καὶ θεός* (Zonaras, xii. 5). The decurions of Barcelona declared themselves *devoti numini majestatique Claudii Gothici* (Orelli, No. 1,020). The same words were used in respect to Aurelian by one of the legions (*ibid.*, No. 1,024). Medals of Aurelian and of Carus, struck during their lifetime, gave them the titles of *deus* and *dominus*. (Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 508-9.)

⁴ See W. Madden, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xviii. p. 9 (1878). A cameo represents Severus, also with the radiate crown, and Gallienus wore it: . . . *radiatus saepe processit* (*Hist. Aug. Gall.*, 16), and Aurelian did the same.

emperor living, and they were accustomed to erect temples to their dead emperors.

A century and a half before Diocletian, Hadrian had made his council the principal machinery of government; and Caracalla and Gratian had separated the civil functions from the military in not permitting the presence of a senator in the army.¹ The offices of *comes*, *corrector*, and *dux* were very ancient; in the third century A.D. we find the *magister militum* and the prætorian prefect had long had the administration of justice and finance. The system of grants of land made to the soldiers with the condition of military service was an old republican institution, the *colonia*,



Coins of Trajan, representing, on the Reverse, the Phoenix crowned with the Nimbus.

preserved by Augustus, possibly regulated by Alexander Severus; and two of the dangers which were to end by destroying the Empire, namely, the Germanization of the frontier provinces and that of the army, had begun with him. Cæsar had Germans in his army in Gaul, and Tacitus shows around the first emperors and in the auxiliary corps of the legions foreigners of every nation.²

A pride in titles was extremely ancient at Rome: we have seen the rigorous classification made by Augustus. From the first days of the Empire it was required to salute the senators as *clarissimi*; the knights of noble family were *illustres*, and under Marcus Aurelius the *eminentissimi* and the *perfectissimi* had privileges which lasted for three generations. A *procurator* under Commodus is called *egregius*. Those of Severus all bore this title, and from the third century or even earlier there existed a sort of heredity for the *curiales*. The nomenclature for the hierarchy was already formed.³

¹ Lampridius says of Alexander Severus, 24: *provincias legatorias præsidiales plurimas fecit*. Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 377; vol. v. pp. 397 and 405) thinks that from this time forward the *præses* had the civil administration, the *dux* the military command.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 17; *Hist.*, i. 46.

³ *Divo Marco placuit eminentissimorum quidem nec non etiam perf. virorum uque ad*

Language, manners, and the necessities of defence had prepared the separation of the Roman world into two Empires. Asia had repeatedly had governors who were invested with full powers: Agrippa and C. Cæsar under Augustus, Germanicus under Tiberius, Corbulo under Nero; and Marcus Aurelius, Valerian, and Carus had relinquished to a colleague half of the provinces.

For many years the Conscrip̄t Fathers had been entirely without authority, and all the power had remained with the imperial chancery. The revival of the senate in the time of the Gordians and of Probus had been but the last flicker of energy in a body whence life was departing; all things were now done in the offices of the sacred palace,¹ for the reason that there was the only force which could set in motion the vast machine. Finally, the industrial corporations and the agricultural colonization had made the beginning of a profound change in the world of labour.

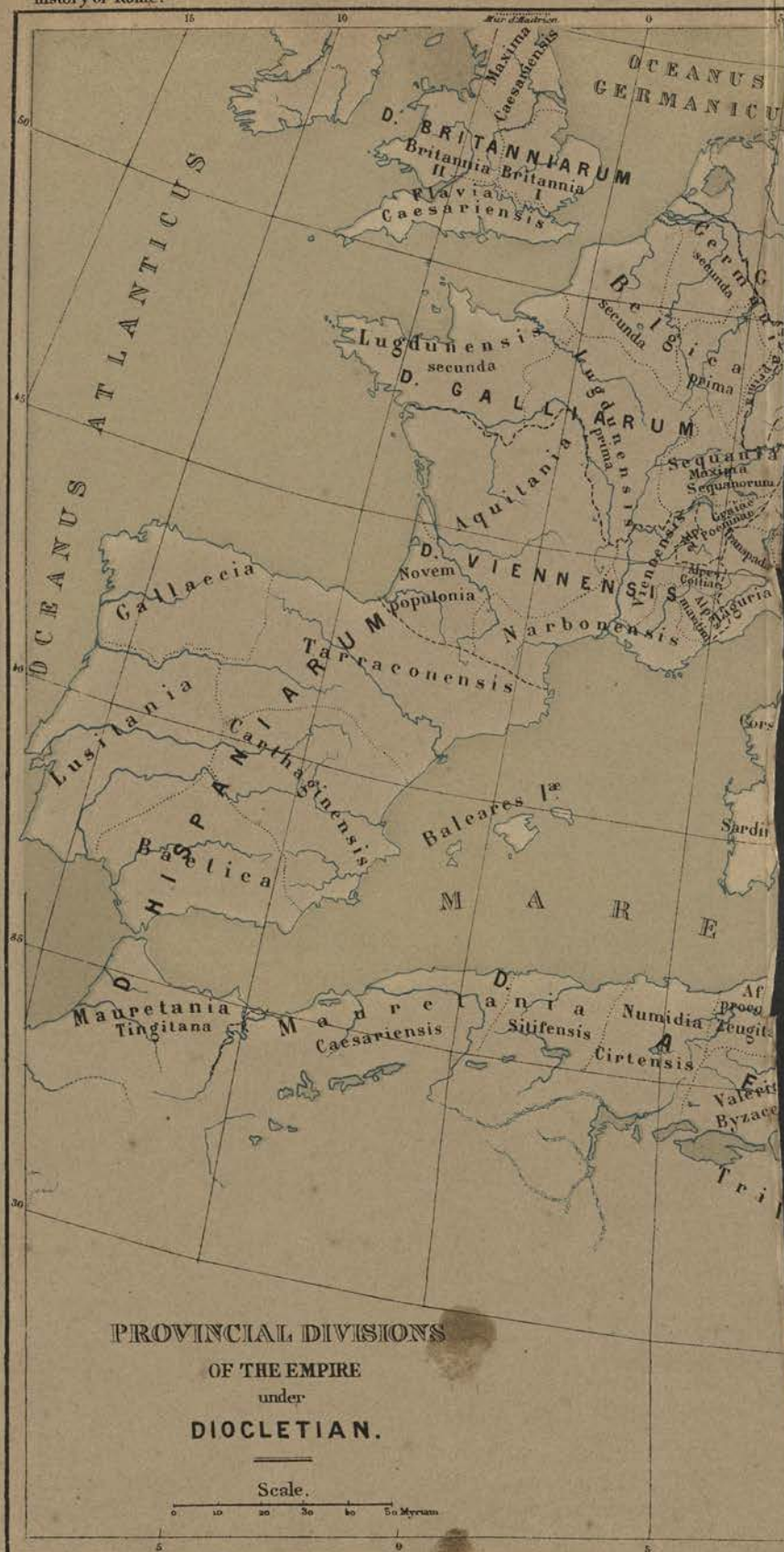
Diocletian therefore did not create in all its parts a new political and social edifice; in reality what he accomplished was a great administrative reform. But the republican exterior so carefully maintained by Augustus, preserved by many of the succeeding emperors, and restored again by Carus, was now thrown off; the master was no longer concealed, *el rey netto*, and the autocratic republic of Augustus assumed its final aspect, that of an Oriental monarchy.²

We have already spoken of the most important of the measures of Diocletian, the establishment of the tetrarchy. To prevent revolutions, by securing the regular succession to the Empire dependent upon the choice of the living emperor; to defeat the intrigues of the ambitious and the riots of the soldiery, by dividing the commands, the armies, and the public treasure—such had been his theoretic conception. His method of execution was to give the

pronepotes liberos plebeiorum pænis vel questionibus non subjici. A dishonourable action, *violati pudoris macula*, arrested, however, the transmission of this privilege which Ulpian recognizes, *decurionibus et filiis eorum* (*Code*, ix. 41; cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. i. 1,085, and vol. vi. 1,603). The use of these exaggerated epithets went very low. In an inscription of the time of Alexander Severus, an iron mine is called *splendidissimus*. (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 257.)

¹ Hirschfeld, *Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte*. We have seen, in the reign of Hadrian and in chap. xcv. § 3, the beginning of the slow evolution which transformed the monarchy of Augustus into an autocratic and Oriental despotism.

² Eutropius (ix. 26) says: *imperio Romano regie consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanæ libertatis iniecit.*



Empire, divided equally, two Augusti, one being superior to the other, and two Cæsars, who, subordinate to the Augusti during the lifetime of the latter, should succeed them on their deaths. This form of government was an important innovation, inasmuch as Diocletian was making a rule of what had been hitherto only a temporary accident, and because, instead of emperors reigning together in Rome—where their action, not being divided, might prove conflicting—each of the Augusti and Cæsars had permanently provinces to govern and barbarians to hold in check.

After the division of the Empire and the imperial power, came that of the provinces.¹ The republic had not greatly changed the frontiers of the nations; its domain was divided only into fourteen governments; and at the accession of Hadrian there were forty-five. This increase was due to the conquests of Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan, but especially to the dismemberment of the early provinces. Since the time of Vespasian the emperors had been aware that commands extending over regions as vast as kingdoms gave rise to ambitious desires and dangerous temptations. More than any one of his predecessors Diocletian had felt this peril; and as he had divided the Empire, in order the better to defend it, so he increased the number of provincial divisions in order to rule it more successfully. At the time of his accession there were fifty-seven provinces; during his reign the number was increased to ninety-six, forming thirty-seven new governments,² and these

¹ Aur. Victor, 40; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, chap. vii.: . . . *provinciæ in frusta concisæ, multi præsidēs et plura officia singulis regionibus ac pænē jam civitatibus incubare, item rationales multi et vicarii præfectorum*. In Egypt were created the provinces Ægyptus Jovia and Æg. Herculia; in Mœsia and in Pannonia the provinces Margensis (in honour of the victory gained by Diocletian at Margum) and Valeria (named from the emperor's daughter); in Britain, Flavia Cæsariensis (in honour of Constantius Chlorus); and many others in Asia Minor.

² The *Notitia dignitatum*, prepared about the year 400, gives 120 provinces; a list of 386(?) comprises c. lly 113; another, of 369(?), gives 104. The list given by Mommsen in the *Memoirs of the Berlin Academy* for 1862, p. 489, from a manuscript of Verona, probably dates from the year 297. It enumerates ninety-six provinces, distributed in twelve districts, as follows: 1, the East (comprising Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia); 2, Pontus (the northern and eastern portions of Asia Minor); 3, Asia (the western part of Asia Minor, with the islands); 4, Thrace (between the Rhodopé, the Lower Danube, and the sea); 5, Mœsia (between the Middle Danube and Thrace); 6, Pannonia (the western part of Illyricum); 7, Italy; 8, Africa; 9, Spain (with Mauretania Tingitania); 10, Viennensis (Narbonensis and Aquitania; later, the district of the Seven Provinces); 11, Gaul; 12, Britain. If it be true that the memoir in which Emil Kuhn (1877) disputes the value of this document has been justly combated by Czwalińska (1881), there remain, however, doubts in respect to certain provinces inscribed in the list of Verona, the formation of which appears to date from the second half of the fourth century. See

last figures justify the words of Lactantius: *provinciae in frusta concisæ*, but does not justify the malevolent intention which dictated it, since the measure was excellent. Diocletian grouped these ninety-six provinces into twelve *dioceses* or districts, each governed by a *vicarius*, or vicegerent, who had a surveillance over the consuls, *correctores*,¹ and presidents or judges sent into the provinces. Two or three countries, by reason of their ancient renown—Carthaginian Africa, Greece, and Asia—were governed by pro-consuls, who were amenable directly to the emperor.² Thus we find, at the head, the Augusti; below them the Cæsars; lower yet, the vicarii; and lastly, the presidents. This political construction, where the upper strata rested with all their weight upon the lower, seemed capable of resisting attacks from without and suppressing any domestic disturbances. For more safety, the military order was rigorously separated from the civil, and the governors of provinces, whose promotion depended upon their services, were reduced to juridical and administrative functions.

Originally the provinces had been divided between the senate and the emperor; as late as the reigns of Tacitus and Probus we have seen what the claims of the Conscript Fathers were in this matter. In the new organization all the provinces were dependent upon the emperor; and the extent of many of them being reduced, the surveillance of the governors was more efficacious, justice more prompt, matters were examined at closer range, and decisions

C. Julian, *De la Réforme provinciale attribuée à Dioclétien*. (*Revue hist.*, vol. xix. 2nd part, pp. 331 *et seq.*)

¹ The words *diocesis* and *corrector* were not new. The *diocesis* was originally a financial or juridical subdivision of the province (Or.-Henzen, No. 6,498; Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, 1,433). Diocletian, on the contrary, united several provinces to form a *diocesis*. Under Caracalla we find an *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiae*. The *juridici* of Marcus Aurelius became *correctores*; under Aurelian, Tetricus was *corrector Lucanie*. Cf. E. Desjardins, *Revue archéol.*, 1873, 2nd part, p. 67. It has already been remarked that each supreme magistrate had his corps of subordinates, *officium*, which did not change with their chief: . . . *officiales perpetui sunt* (Pamph. *Sent.*, ii. 1, 5; cf. *Code Théod.*, xi. 30, 59). They kept the official books, and could remind the judge of the statute in case he had forgotten it (*Code Théod.*, xi. 40, 15).

² Böcking, *Not. dign.*, i. 167, and ii. 148. Macer had said, as early as the time of Alexander Severus (*Digest*, i. 18, 1): *præsidis nomen generale est eoque et proconsules et legati Cæsaris et omnes provincias regentes . . . præsidēs appellantur*. In the fourth century the name of *judices* prevailed—a natural change, since the suppression of the formulary method of procedure singularly enhanced the judicial rôle of the presidents. The Antonines had given currency to the idea that the principal function of a governor was to enunciate the law. The *juridici* of Italy date from Marcus Aurelius, and under Hadrian and Antonine there had been these officers in the provinces.

reached more quickly.¹ Severe regulations established the responsibility of these officers. "He bound them fast," says Aurelius Victor, "by the most just laws."²

An inscription of the time of Diocletian, that of Cælius Saturninus, proves that there was always practised the essentially Roman custom of causing the public servants to fill the most diverse offices, and to leave them but a short time in each. Saturninus held twenty, from the office of advocate of the treasury to that of prætorian prefect—all of the civil order; by which we see that the rule established by Augustus, and maintained as late as the time of Severus and the Gordians, requiring military service in the cavalry, was no longer observed.³ An absolute ruler likes to take his servants from every station, even the lowest. These functionaries, not eminent by birth, consoled themselves with the pomp of titles: humble offices had become sacred magistracies, *stipendia cognitionum sacrarum aut palatii magisteria*.⁴ The separation

¹ The ordinary procedure in a civil matter, the *jure ordinario agere*, that the Republic and the Early Empire had practised, had given place gradually to the *cognitio extra ordinem*. An ordinance of 294 authorizes the presidents to appoint judges only when they themselves were absolutely prevented by other duties from fulfilling this office. The *judices pedanei* being appointed, pronounced sentence independently of the president, who had cognizance of these affairs only upon appeal of the parties. (*Code Just.*, iii. 3, 2.) To prevent these governors from acting in any instance without due deliberation, Diocletian forbade their revoking sentences once rendered in criminal cases, so that their negligence might become known to the emperor if an appeal brought the case before him. (*Ibid.*, ix. 47, 15.) Every Roman magistrate had his council, composed of men whom he called together to aid him with their advice. This duty was an onerous one; it took time and caused expense, and sometimes exposed to ill will. Diocletian forbade the presidents to compel any man's services as assessor: they were to be allured to this office *spe præmiorum atque honorificentia* (*Code*, i. 51, i.).

² *Officia, vineta legibus æquissimis* (*Cæs.*, 39).

³ L. Fabius Cilo Septimius, who was consul under Commodus and Severus (*C. I. L.*, 1,408-1,410), also filled twenty different offices; but in his case the rule of military service was observed, as it was also for the father-in-law of Gordian III., Timesitheus, who made his entrance upon public life as prefect of an auxiliary cohort. (*Antiquités de la ville de Lyon*, p. 162, edit. of 1857.)

⁴ Eumenes, *Pro rest. scholis*, 5, and *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. No. 1,704. We give the *currus honorum* of Septimius and of Saturninus, who, with a century between, both arrived at the highest positions, the one by services rendered in all kinds of civil and military offices, the other without ever leaving the civil career. The two inscriptions, therefore, well indicate the difference in the times.

Inscription of Septimius (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,408, and Wilmanns, 1,202-1,202 b):—
 1. *Decemvir stitibus*. 2. *Tribun. milit. leg. XI Claudie*. 3. *Quest. prov. Cretæ et Cyren*.
 4. *Tribun. pleb.* 5. *Leg. pro præt. prov. Narbon.* 6. *Præt. urban.* 7. *Sodalis Hadrianal.*
 8. *Leg. Aug. leg. XVI Flav. Firmæ*. 9. *Procos. prov. Narbon.* 10. *Præf. ærarii militaris*.
 11. *Cos (suff. anno 193)*. 12. *Leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov. Galat.* 13. *Præpositus vexillationibus Perinthis pergentibus*. 14. *Leg. pr. pr. provinc. Ponti et Bithyn.* 15. *Dux vexillat. per Italiam*.

between the civil and military functions, commenced long before this time, was so rigorously kept up by Diocletian, that the military service, long since prohibited to the imperial nobility,¹ was still further denied to the municipal aristocracy. He closed the legions against the decurions, their sons, and all those persons who by their fortune were eligible to municipal offices.² The army was recruited among the barbarians, and there remained no more military spirit among this people who by it had once achieved such great things.

We shall later show in its entirety the so-called "divine hierarchy," but we must first speak of an important novelty, the formation of an Asiatic court which was to crowd that dwelling which the Nervas and Trajans called "the public palace." Diocletian was an admirer of the Oriental world, its royal customs pleased him, and he copied its stately ceremonial. He replaced by vestments of silk and gold the military tunic, over which his predecessors had merely thrown a scarlet mantle; upon his forehead he wore the royal diadem which Aurelian had already assumed, and his purple slippers were studded with precious stones. To the emperor, whom all men, soldiers and citizens, might freely salute, succeeded the king-god, hidden in mysterious shadow, in the depths of a palace whose approaches were guarded by a crowd of eunuchs and officers. Whosoever obtained from the *magister officiorum* an imperial audience was led to it by a master of ceremonies and introduced by the *admissionales invitatores*. Crossing the threshold guarded by thirty mutes, he fell prostrate and adored "the sacred countenance," scarcely daring to lift his eyes to this motionless and dreadful majesty.³ Those even to whom their rank

16. *Leg. pr. pr. provinc. Pannon. sup.* 17. *Cur. Minicie (porticus), R. P. Nicomedensium, Interamnatum, Nartium item Graviscanorum.* 18. *Præfectus Urbi.* 19. *Cos. II (anno 204).*

Inscription of C. Cælius Saturninus (*C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,705):—1. *Fisci advocatus per Italiam.* 2. *Sexagenarius studiorum adjutor.* 3. *Sexagenarius a consiliis sacris.* 4. *Ducenarius a consiliis (saeris).* 5. *Magister libellorum.* 6. *Magister studiorum.* 7. *Vicarius a consiliis sacris.* 8. *Magister censuum.* 9. *Rationalis vicarius per Gallias.* 10. *Rationalis private.* 11. *Vicarius summæ rei rationum.* 12. *Præfectus annonæ Urbis.* 13. *Examinator per Italiam.* 14. *Vicarius præfectorum prætorio bis, in urbe Roma et per Mysias.* 15. *Judex sacrarum cognitionum.* 16. *Vicarius præfecturæ Urbis.* 17. *Comes domini nostri Constantini Victoris Augusti.* 18. *Allectus petitu senatus inter consulares.* 19. *Præfectus prætorio.*

¹ See p. 370.

² . . . *Omnibus in fraudem civilium munerum* (*Code Just.*, xii. 34, 2).

³ *Amp. Marcellinus*, xv. 5, § 8: *admissionum magistrum.* Böcking, *Not. dign.*, i. 237, and ii. 305. The *Magister officiorum* commanded the countless personnel of the palace and of the manufactures of arms. His duties explain his insignia.

gave daily admittance were subjected to this servile ceremonial.¹ All became sacred, the palace of the emperor as well as his person, his words and his acts. Never in our European world had man so much encroached upon divinity.

It was not for the gratification of a puerile vanity that Diocletian placed himself outside the pale of common life, and condemned himself to an ostentatious *ennui*. The man who had said that the best monarch, the most prudent, the wisest, always is in danger of being sold by his courtiers,² was not ignorant of the advantages to be derived from a free communication between the sovereign and the subjects; but he believed that there would be fewer revolutions in the state when there should be more respect for the ruler; that imperial majesty would be more imposing in the twilight where he proposed to keep it; that a servility of words and attitudes would guarantee in the interests of public tranquillity a servility in men's minds; that, finally, obedience would be better secured by a pomp of ceremonies and the severe forms of authority. It was a calculation which might indeed be true for old dynasties, the object of public homage, and for a clergy speaking in the name of heaven; but it was false as made by those who demanded of official etiquette a force that historic circumstances did not give it. Diocletian, rising from so low to so high a condition, had experience enough to know what these outside shows were worth, what a burden this sumptuous court, imitated by the other Augustus and by the Cæsars, would impose upon the treasury; what a deleterious effect it would exercise on the already effeminate minds of men, in a time which demanded all possible effort to make them more virile. But the servility of the Asiatic races and of an Empire in its decline made him believe in the happy effects of this stately ceremonial.

Diocletian destroyed the fiction of a delegation of authority by the people to the emperor. He was unwilling to retain any of the former powers, the citizens, the senate, the army; and from the

¹ . . . quibus aditum vestri dabant ordines dignitatis; et . . . admissis qui sacros vultus adoraturi erant (*Pan.*, iii. 11). See Eutrop., ix. 26. The title of *dominus* is not, however, found on the coins of Diocletian (Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14), but he allowed it to be given him: *Dominum dici passus*, says Aur. Victor (*Cæs.*, 39), *parentem egit*.

² Vopiscus, *Aur.*, 43.

authority which his generals had given him he constructed a sort of divine right which he communicated freely to his colleague and to the successors chosen by himself alone. The sovereignty had again changed hands. From the forum and the curia it had passed into the camps; now it was held within the palace.¹ The court of Diocletian was an importation into the European world of customs to which certain modern royalties have fallen heir. It created that factitious social condition in which the mind grows fine and acute, and politeness and elegance give the most charming exterior; but in which manners too often become corrupt and characters degraded—where life is made up of flatteries, of secret treasons, and of beggary. Under Diocletian none of these evils appeared, for the reason that he imposed upon his courtiers a respect for the law as well as for himself; but after him were opened “those voracious mouths”² whereby Constantine suffered his people to be preyed upon, and the splendours of Constantinople were to ruin the finances of the Empire, as later the magnificent follies of the old Bourbon monarchy exhausted the resources of France.

In presence of these innovations the ancient things languished or died. Rome ceased to be the capital of the world; nothing went into it, and all things went out from it—all affairs of importance, gay and noisy life, barrack riots, palace tragedies. To the eye the stage remained nearly as Augustus had constructed it. If there were no longer emperors on the Palatine, there were always consuls in their curule chairs, senators under their laticlaves, an assembly of the dead, in a city which was entering upon its new rôle, that of the greatest museum in the world.

There was no place at all for Oriental kings in a city filled with memories of the senatorial Republic and the popular Empire. The liberty of speech, the habits of familiarity with their rulers that the people had kept, would have been grave infractions of the etiquette of the new court. At the time of the conference of Milan, “Rome,” says the Panegyrist, with his customary bad

¹ The author of the *Actio gratiarum Julio* says that the comitia of Rome were now in the breast of the emperor: . . . *in sacri pectoris comitio* (*Pan. vet.*, xi. 15), an awkward imitation of the words of Plautus in *Epidicus*, i. 2, which are at least witty: *jam senatum convocabo in corde consiliorum*.

² Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 8.



EUGENI DEL BOSCO pinxit

Imp. Fraillery.

DAMEBOURGZ chromolith.

CONSULAR DIPTYCH OF FLAVIUS FELIX

taste, "Rome looked from her hill-tops endeavouring to catch a glimpse of her emperors in the distance."¹ But she saw nothing coming. The Augusti remained occupied with the affairs of the Empire, and, paying no attention to Rome, returned to protect the frontiers.

Diocletian had received the purple in Nicomedia, at the hands of his comrades in arms; he kept it without asking from the senate a confirmation of his titles. Incessantly he made laws: we have 1,200 of his rescripts, and not one of them was prepared by the assembly which had been the great council of the Empire. Up to this time the senate had appeared to make the consular elections: it was a pure formality, but precious, nevertheless, to the vanity of a body of men who were not at all exacting. Diocletian now took the appointment of consuls into his own hands.² Thus to drop the veil which hid the nothingness of its authority was a public insult; the senate were justly incensed; there followed imprudent words, possibly conspiracies, certainly executions. Diocletian did not pay these senile ebullitions the honour to concern himself personally with them; he gave the matter in charge to Maximian, well suited to such a duty.³

¹ *e speculis suorum montium prospicere conata* (*Pan. vet.*, iii. 12).

² The coloured plate represents a consular diptych, that of Flavius Felix, "a very illustrious man, *comes* and *magister* of the two military services, patrician and *consul ordinarius*," who was consul of the West in 428. There exists only one more ancient diptych, that of Probus, consul in 406, under Honorius.

The consul standing, in his place in the theatre, holds the long consular sceptre surmounted by a globe, which bears the busts of the reigning emperors, Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. The inscription is as follows: FL(avii) FELICIS V(iri) C(larissimi) COM(itis) AC MAG(istri).

This diptych was long preserved entire in the abbey of Saint Junien de Limoges. The panel here given was brought in 1808 to the Cabinet of Medals in Paris. The other is lost, but we know it from the publications of Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Benedictini*; of Banduri, *Imperium orientale*; of Gori, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum*, i. p. 120. Ch. Lenormant has also reproduced it in the *Trésor de numism. et de glyptique*. The consular diptychs were double tablets of ivory which the consuls distributed to the senators on taking office. Justinianus, consul of the East in 521, inscribed upon his diptych:

*Munera parva quidem pretio, sed honoribus alma,
Patribus ista meis offero consul ego.*

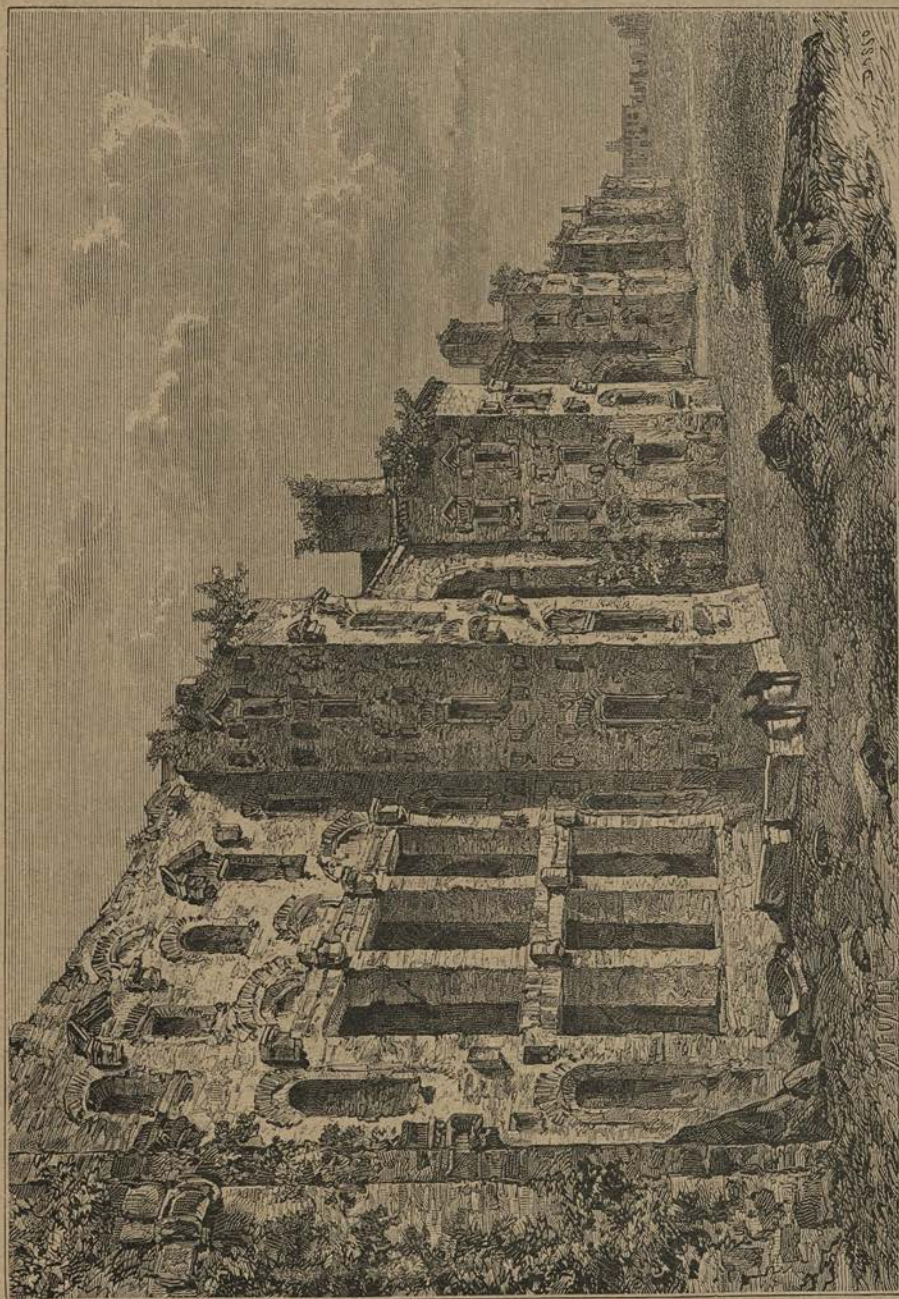
This is the use of the consular diptychs perfectly indicated. A law of the *Theodosian Code*, made in 384 under Valentinian II. and Theodosius, grants to the consuls exclusively the right of distributing these ivory diptychs: *exceptis consulibus ordinariis nulli prorsus alteri diptycha ex eboze dandi facultas sit*. See Chabouillet, *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, 5th series, vol. vi. 1873.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 8: *Non deerant locupletissimi senatores qui suburnatis indiis affectasse imperium dicerentur* (Aur. Victor, 39).

The prætorian prefect, the man once called "the king's sword," remained a person of importance, but he ceased to be dangerous. His military authority was almost suppressed by the formation of four distinct armies; by the regular and no longer accidental appointment of *magistri militum*, who left the prefect only the care of the commissariat and the pay;¹ lastly, by the suppression of the corps of *frumentarii*, which gave him absolute power over the lives and fortunes of the principal men of the provinces. In the Early Empire it was not considered wise to multiply the administrative *personnel*, and yet many functionaries were necessary for the conduct of public affairs, and particularly for the maintenance of public order, which, necessary in every civilized country, is pre-eminently so in a monarchical country. The army fulfilled this duty. From the first days of the Empire it had furnished officers to protect the interests of Rome in the free cities, for instance Byzantium, or among turbulent allies like the Batavi and the Moors; later it furnished soldiers and centurions who were retained at Rome, *frumentarii*, under the authority of the prætorian prefect. After being trained for their new trade they were sent into the provinces to see and hear, and afterwards tell what they had ascertained. By their reports the *frumentarii* often gave cause for accusations even against the governors of provinces.² Hence their odious reputation, and the joy caused by their suppression. With his new administrative system, Diocletian had no longer need of this vast system of espionage which had given the prætorian prefects so formidable

¹ Under Constantine, who made them exclusively civil functionaries, there were four prætorian prefects; the opinion of Zosimus (ii. 32) seems most correct, that there were but two under Diocletian, as there were but two Augusti. The prefect Asclepiodotus, who aided Constantianus against Allectus, was probably Maximian's prætorian prefect, and still held the early military position attached to this office. As to the *magistri*, they had existed from time to time during the third century; thus Aurelian, under Valerian and Claudius, held the *militiæ magisterium*, either for command or inspection of camps and fortresses (*Hist. Aug. Aur.*, 9, 11, and 17). An officer like this was too useful for Diocletian not to have made it a permanent position. (Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7.) The exact duties we do not know; it was doubtless a great service of inspection and command, which received from Constantine its definite form when he instituted two *magistri militum*, one for the infantry, the other for the cavalry.

² M. L. Renier has thus explained the character of the *frumentarii*, contrary to the opinion which represented them as officers employed in the commissariat. We know that centurions were employed in mines and quarries as superintendents of the works. With the Romans the army was useful for all purposes.



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.

a weapon.¹ He attached so much importance to having it known that all could rely upon the justice of the emperor that, in the rescript entitled: "Concerning those who, through fear of the judge, have not dared to appeal," he says: "If thou hast not appealed from the sentence pronounced against thee it is because thou hast accepted it, for in our sacred court thou hadst nothing to fear."²

As for the prætorians, their number was gradually diminished by sending malcontents into the legions, and the haughty band which had made and unmade so many emperors, descended without resistance to the condition of a guard of city watch, as this senate, which had governed the world, was reduced to being only the municipal council of Rome. And thus the two ancient powers, so long enemies, were perishing together. The strength of the urban cohorts, who were under the command of the prefect of the city, was also reduced.³

The Augusti substituted for their body-guard of prætorians two battalions levied in the Illyrian provinces. These soldiers took the names of the emperors, being called the Jovian and the Herculean, and, proud of being fellow-countrymen of their masters, they exhibited towards them absolute fidelity.⁴

The Dalmatian, who cared so little about the people whom his predecessors had courted, desired to let the Romans behold in

¹ Constantine re-established this police service, intrusting it to *agentes in rebus*.

² *Code Just.*, vii. 67, 1.

³ *Imminuto prætoriarum cohortium atque in armis vulgi numero* (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39; Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 13). After his victory over Maxentius, Constantine suppressed the prætorians, whose name thenceforward is lost to history. From the middle of the third century, the emperors, always absent from Rome, and always distrustful of the prætorians, had given themselves a private guard, composed of two corps, infantry and cavalry, who were called *domestici* and *protectores*.

⁴ Zosimus, iii. 30. In respect to what may be called the line, Diocletian doubtless began that dismemberment of the legions which Constantine systematically continued. In the time of Hyginus the legion was still composed of 6,000 men; but Diocletian, having constructed many castles and fortresses along the line of the frontiers, wished, no doubt, to have them guarded by small bodies of troops, which should have, nevertheless, their complement both of men and munitions. For this service the legion was too numerous, and it became necessary to reduce it. From his reign on, the word *schola* takes the signification of a detachment of soldiers, a sense in which we find it both in the *Code* and in Amm. Marcellinus. It would seem that Hyginus wrote his book, *de Munitionibus castrorum*, in the beginning of the third century; it is, therefore, useless to us for the period of the tetrarchy: that of Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris*, composed between 384 and 395, does not distinguish times, so that neither does it give us the military organization of Diocletian.

their city a monument of his ostentation; and he caused to be built on the Viminal, with a disdainful magnificence, baths more extensive than those of Titus and Caracalla.¹

Rome was now but an ordinary city; Italy but a province. Up to this time she had been required to furnish only the provisions necessary for the palace and for the troops stationed in the capital or in the peninsula, *Italia annonaria*. Diocletian subjected her to the land-tax, which since the time of Augustus she had never paid. He thus effaced a privilege offensive to the rest of the Empire rather than created any considerable financial advantage, for the tax was moderate at first. The country adjacent to Rome as far as a hundred miles from the walls, *urbicaria regio*, remained exempt from the contributions to which the rest of annonary Italy was subjected.²

The *consilium*, already reconstructed by Hadrian, became the *consistorium sacrum*, a sort of council of state, composed of the principal persons of the Empire, and filling, in the administration, the place vacated by the senate. It deliberated in the presence of the emperor upon subjects which he laid before it;³ this council assisted him in the exercise of his judicial functions, and a part or all of the members accompanied him in his journeys and in his residences at Nicomedia, Antioch, and Sirmium. Finally, we see that he made a reform in the general maintenance of order throughout the Empire.

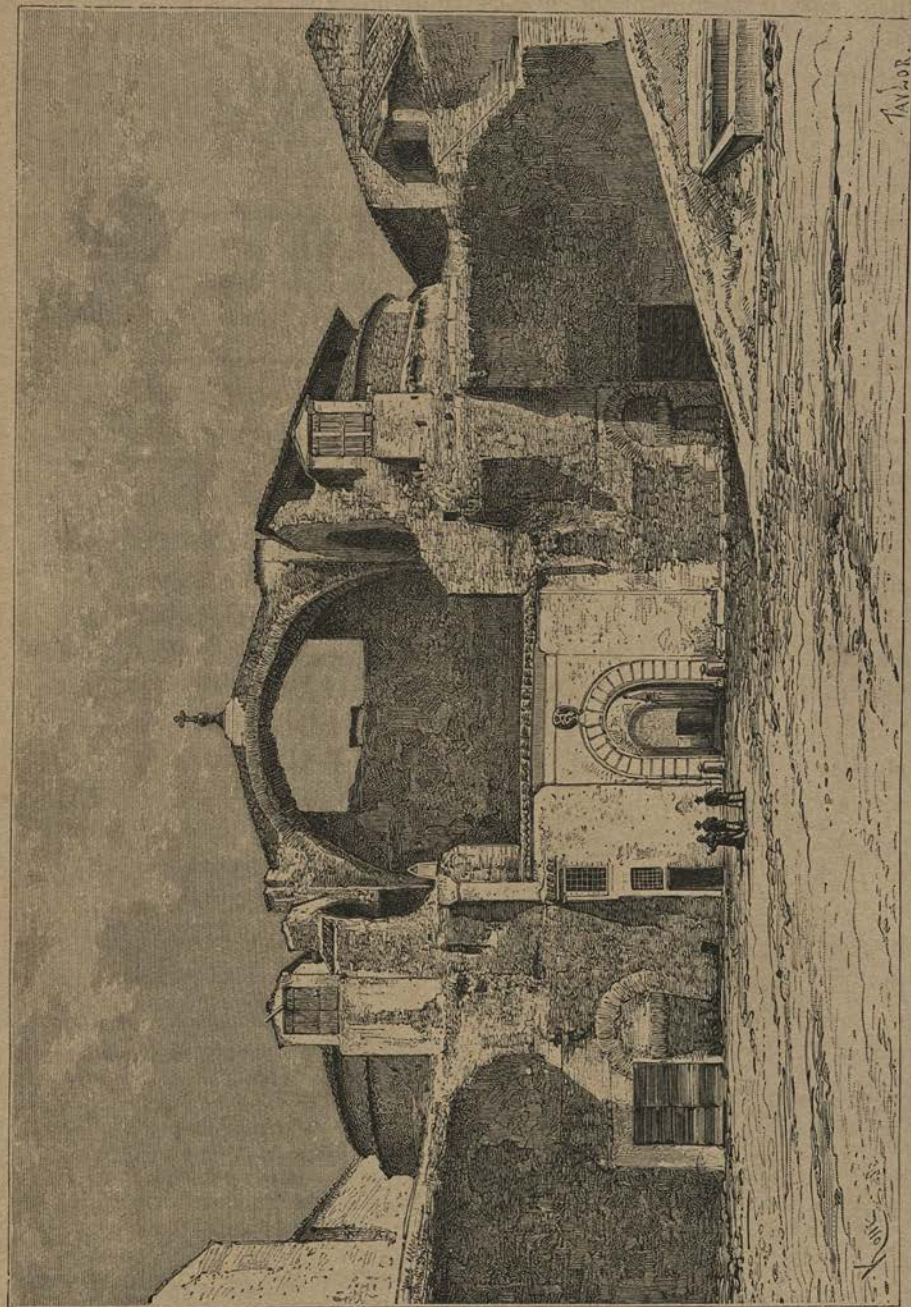
We mention, in passing, the completion of the judicial evolution which had been going on since the beginning of the Empire: the *cognitio extra ordinem*, substituted for the formulary procedure; in criminal cases the *inquisitio* or information, formerly the part of the accuser, now made officially by the magistrate; in civil cases, the twofold prosecution, first before the prætor, *in jure*, and then before the judge, *in judicio*, replaced by the single suit before the judge, a state functionary.⁴ The judicial system of the Republic,

¹ There were many other buildings erected by Diocletian at Rome, at Antioch (Malalas, xii. p. 306), at Nicomedia, etc. Cf. Orelli, Nos. 1,047, 1,052, 1,054, 1,055, 1,056, etc., and Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 7. An inscription very recently discovered shows an African city, which the rebels had destroyed, rebuilt by Diocletian and Maximian.

² Aur. Victor, 39. Cf. Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 23.

³ *Imp. Diocl. et Maxim. A.A., in consistorio dixerunt* (Code, ix. 47, 12). The members of the council received as salary 60,000, 100,000, and 200,000 sesterces, as we know from the inscription of Saturninus.

⁴ The prætor had the *jurisdictio*, that is to say, the right to grant or refuse an action. The



Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. Entrance to the Church of S. Maria dei Angeli.

which Augustus preserved, was entirely unsuited to the new imperial monarchy. Formerly the magistrate did not intervene in the case except by the *judicis datio*; henceforth, he was to concern himself with it at every stage; and the judges being, as public functionaries, the delegates of the emperor, the sovereign might revise their sentences, either directly or by the *vice sacra judicantes*, who would make in his name a second trial, of which he would accept or reverse the decisions. All civil and criminal justice thus came to be in the emperor's own hands; and thence it followed that when the venality of the last century of the Republic re-appeared in the Later Empire, justice as well as the administration was polluted by it, the two being then blended.¹

The municipal law of Cæsar had ordered for Italy a quinquennial census. To accomplish this for the entire Empire was difficult; accordingly, in the time of Ulpian, it took place only every ten years. The minute description that Ulpian has left us of it proves what scrupulous care the Romans employed in making an equitable apportionment of the taxes.² At the expiration of each decennial period a new valuation of land was made, on the declaration of the owners, subject to correction by the *censor*. Lactantius speaks of this necessary revision in terms of alarm which have misled later writers; it has been thought that Lactantius revealed outrageous exactions, commenced by Diocletian and continued by Galerius,³ when in reality only one of the most ancient

action being allowed, he named judges who were specially appointed for each case. These judges had the *cognitio*, or first inquiry, and could be readily challenged and set aside. When they were not selected exclusively from one of the great political bodies (as they were in the last century of the Republic), citizens possessed guarantees against the interested sentences of magistrates and against arbitrary action on the part of government. The law of Diocletian, which is of the year 294, is found in the *Code of Justinian*, iii. 3, 2.

¹ In respect to this change, see above, p. 574, and Puchta, *Instit.*, vol. ii. p. 261, § 182; Walter, § 743; Bethmann-Hollweg, iii. 104, and Cuq, *Le Magister sacrarum cognitionum*, or chief of department, who made the preliminary investigation of matters submitted to the emperor. The right of appeal to the sovereign had, since the time of Augustus, modified the judicial organization of the Republic. The reorganization of the imperial council by Hadrian, who made it into a high court of judicature, had prepared the way for the reform accomplished by Diocletian. The emperor was then the source of all justice.

² *Digest*, l. 15, 4.

³ *Agri glebatim metiebantur; vites et arbores numerabantur; animalia omnis generis scribebantur; hominum capita notabantur* (*de Morte pers.*, 23). The *Theodosian Code* (ix. 42, 7) shows the regularity of the work which had been done ever since the time of Augustus and before him: . . . *quod spatium et quod sit ruris ingenium; quid aut cultum sit aut colatur; quid in vineis, olivis, aratoris, pascuis, silvis fuerit inventum.*

customs of the imperial administration should be recognized here. Diocletian, who multiplied offices and lined all the frontiers with defensive works, must have been obliged to create means for so many expenses. Taxes certainly were increased; perhaps it was he who made general the tax of twelve and a half per cent. formerly levied on articles of luxury¹ alone; and if he abolished the five per cent. on inheritances and on enfranchisements, of which we find no trace after his time,² he increased the tax of one per cent. upon sales, which is later mentioned as a very heavy burden;³ but the re-establishment of order and industry prevented the weight of public expenses from being very much felt; Aurelius Victor had already shown us that under Diocletian they were easily borne.

A document recently discovered attributes to this emperor a curious simplification in the administration of the finances.⁴

Like Augustus he divided the lands into various categories: vineyards, olive-yards (two classes), corn-lands (three classes), and meadows, which were taxed in proportion to their supposed productiveness. To render the collection more easy, he formed a taxable unit, *jugum* or *caput*, including lands of different character and unequal extent, which taken together had the same value, 100,000 sesterces or 1,000 aurei (£600), owed the state an equal sum.⁵ Thus five *jugera* of vineyards or twenty *jugera* of arable land of the first quality made a *caput*. Forty *jugera* of second quality and sixty of third were required; 225 olive-trees in full bearing, or 450 mountain olive-trees, *in monte*, to constitute a like taxable unit. The *jugum* or *caput* was therefore not a mathematical but a taxable unit.⁶ Every financial district comprised a certain

¹ *Code Just.*, iv. 61, 7: . . . *octavas more solito constitutas*, under Gratian. We have seen Diocletian much occupied during the negotiations with Persia by the question of the *portorium*. The enormous duties paid at Palmyra (above, p. 569, n. 1) show that the tax of 12½ per cent. could not have been a *maximum* established only in certain places.

² An inscription of Gruter does indeed place, under Valens, a *procurator XX hered.*, but this inscription is doubly suspicious, both by the manner in which it is composed and from the writer, Panvinio, who gives it. Orelli (i. p. 59) says of him: *dubia omnino haud raro ejus est fides*.

³ Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iv. 19.

⁴ The *Syrisches Rechtsbuch*, published by Bruns in 1880.

⁵ *Nov. Major.*, vii. 16; *Nov. Valent.*, iii. 5, § 4; Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, ii. 37. The taxable unit had not everywhere the same name, nor, perhaps, the same extent: in Africa it was the *centuria*; in Italy, the *millena*; and it is said in the *Theodosian Code* (xi. 20, 6): . . . *sive quo alio nomine nuncupantur*.

⁶ Mommsen, *ap. Hermes*, iii. 430, and Marquardt, ii. 219. Every proprietor gave personally

number of them, and this number determined the amount due from the whole district. According to the needs of the government the sum of the whole tax was raised or lowered (*indicebat*, whence indiction), as in France the percentages are added or taken off. When government consented to make a reduction in the case of a proprietor or of a city, the number of *capita* were diminished which were ascribed to the city or the man in the registers of the census.¹ Hence the request inspired by the classic souvenir of the labours of Hercules: "Regard us as Geryones; and the tribute, the monster; that I may live, cut off three heads."²

The sum imposed by the state upon the financial district was made known to the decurions of the city, who apportioned the tax among the *possessores*, collected it, and gave over to the agents of the treasury the sum demanded by the emperor. If there was any deficit, it was made good from the property of the decurions; that is to say, they were held responsible for the tax.³ The citizens are always so, since the deficits in the budgets can be made up only by them; but among the moderns, it is the entire mass of tax-payers who make the sum complete; under the Empire it was a particular class, and the responsibility ended by crushing it.

Notwithstanding these precautions the taxes did not always

to the imperial officer, *censitor*, in the presence of the other tax-payers who were interested in his declaration (*professio*) being truthful, the amount of his fortune, as is done in England in the income tax. *Omnia ipse, qui defert, aestimet* (*Digest*, l. 15, 4). If required, discussion followed, and a false declaration entailed confiscation. This is stated in the *Theodosian Code* (vi. 2, 2) in the case of senators, and was still more likely to exist with others. The census, originally quinquennial, later decennial, appears to have been made, after 312, at intervals of fifteen years, which gave origin to the method of reckoning by *indictions*.

¹ Thus the territory of Autun contained 32,000 *jugera*, which Constantine reduced to 25,000. (*Pan. vet.*, viii. 11.) Julian diminished in Gaul the tax for each *caput* from 15 to 7 aurei. (*Amm. Marcellinus*, xvi. 5, 14.) The *Theodosian Code* (vi. 20, 6) speaks of *capita relevata vel aderata levius*. The basis of the *caput* served even in the matter of furnishing supplies by the *possessores*: in Thrace, twenty *capita*; in Scythia and Messia, thirty; in Egypt, in the East, in Asia, and Pontus, thirty-three (?) collectively are required to furnish a military garment. (*Hist. Aug., Gordian*, iii. 28, and *Theodosian Code*, vii. 6, 3.)

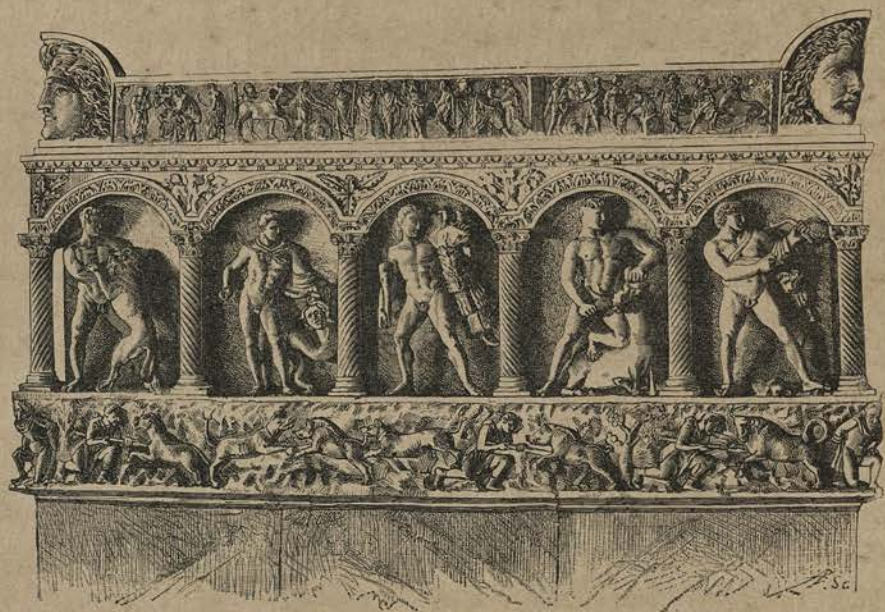
² *Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum:*

Hic capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.

(Sid. Apollin., *Carm.*, xiii. 19.)

³ . . . *decaproti et icosaproti . . . pro omnibus defunctorum fiscalia detrimenta resarciunt* (*Digest*, l. 4, i. § 1; 3, § 10; 18, § 26). The latter law (18, §§ 1-30) should be read in all its details in order to understand the extent of the *munera civilia*. The lists of the apportionment were preserved in the *tabularium* of each city by the *tabularii civitatum* (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 28, 3); several of these are in existence; for example, that of the Volceii, in the country of the Lucanians, for the year 323. (*Mommsen, Inscr. Neap.*, No. 216.)

come in readily, for the reason that, since the Romans raised their principal public revenue from real estate, this was overwhelmed by the burdens laid upon it. Accordingly there were insolvent *possessores*, ruined *curiales*,¹ proprietors who in order the better to sell their land had kept back the payment of the arrears



The Labours of Hercules.²

with which the property was burdened, not paying it at all—a dead loss to the treasury, since they possessed nothing else with which to answer to the treasury for their debt.³ Thus arrears accumulated, *reliqua*, for recovery of which the advocate of the treasury instituted proceedings, usually upon information given by a *delator*, whose trade was encouraged by a premium of a fourth

¹ The *curiales* were doubly responsible: first, towards the state, as members of the committee of ten or of twenty (*decemprimi*, *decaproti*, *icosaproti*), or simply as *curiales* required to collect the tax (Papinian, in the *Digest*, l. i. 17, § 7); second, towards the city as magistrates, financial or administrative (Ulpian in the *Digest*, l. 2, 2, § 8). In each case their fortunes were at stake, and it so often happened that they lost it in the public service, that it was established that in such cases the city owed them support. (*Digest*, l. 2, 8.)

² Bas-relief from a sarcophagus of the Borghesi villa. Under the principal design is represented the chase of the leopard, the wild boar, and the wild bull. Upon the other side of the same sarcophagus are represented other exploits of Hercules and similar hunting scenes. In vol. v. p. 399, we have already given a sarcophagus, called a cinerary urn, on which are represented subjects of the same kind.

³ Constantine renewed in 319 (*Theodosian Code*, xi. 3, 1) the prohibition long ago made against bargains of this kind (*Digest*, l. 15, 5).

part of the sums recovered, *quadruplator*. From time to time policy dictated to the emperor the relinquishment of these arrears. This was done by Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Aurelian; and later, by Constantine.¹ There is no mention in any document of a like measure adopted by Diocletian; but the relief granted by Constantine in 310 embraces only the *religua* of the five years preceding;² which gives ground to suppose that his great predecessor had left none.

Diocletian confirmed all the privileges which had been accorded in preceding reigns to the decurions³ and the authority of the municipal laws, from which the governors were not allowed to derogate;⁴ he even exempted from the capitation tax the artisans in cities, *plebs urbana*, for the small landed possessions they might hold in the country.⁵ But pre-occupied as were his predecessors with securing the performance of all public duties in the cities, he took care not to let the *possessores* withdraw from these cares,⁶ making, however, the obligation of the *munera personalia* cease for them at



Small Trades: a Cutler's Shop.
(From a Bas-relief.)



Field Labourers surrounding a Ploughshare.
(Engraved Stone; Caylus, v. pl. 83, 6.)

¹ Hadrian remitted £8,000,000.

² *Paneg. vet.*, viii. 13.

³ *Code Theod.*, ix. 41, 11, and 47, 12; x. 31, 4, and 42, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 49, 1; xi. 29, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii. 10, 2. The words of this rescript addressed to the presidents of Lycia and Pamphylia: *sicut in orientalibus provinciis observatur*, show that the immunity granted by Diocletian had been abolished in the provinces of Galerius. (Lactantius, 23.) In 313 Constantine and Licinius re-established it throughout the entire Empire.

⁶ *Theod. Code*, x. 41, 6-10.

the age of fifty-five.¹ That he never accorded exemption from the



Library of the Later Empire. (From Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte crist.*)



Changer or Verifier of Money.
(From a Painted Glass.)

urbani exempt from capitation; the *rusticani*, who pay it. These

capitation tax to the rural population was due to the fact that this favour would have been profitable only to the great land-owners who were responsible to the treasury for their coloni;² the peasants therefore remained subject to the capitation, to the *annona*, and to the compulsory labour and the furnishing of extra supplies; but the ordinance *Ne rusticani, ad ullum obsequium devocentur*,³ protected them against all other dues or taxes; and when the cities made an attempt to throw off upon the country the superindictions, under pretence that they were tributes *extra ordinem*, he established distinctly that these were to be paid by the *possessores*.⁴ Finally, by another ordinance, he declared that the colonist who had fulfilled the terms of his contract should not be held responsible for the debts of his landlord.⁵ We have seen the formation of a new social condition, that of the colonist; we now see another division made among the inhabitants of the Empire: the

¹ *Theod. Code*, 49, 3. The exemption was valid only *si inopia civium non est* (*ibid.*, 2).

² *Ibid.*, XI. i. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, xi. 54, 1. An ordinance, undated, but signed with the names of Diocletian and Maximian.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 41, 10: . . . *quandoquidem ea patrimonii munera esse constet*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 10, 3, anno 246.

divisions announce the approach of the mediæval period, the time, that is to say, of inequality and rural distress.

In abolishing the capitation tax for the *plebs urbana*, Diocletian favoured the lesser industries. He attempted to assist legitimate traffic by two other measures, the one excellent, the other bad: a monetary reform which Constantine was later to complete, and the establishment of a maximum price for articles of daily use. We have seen what evils were caused by the monetary crisis of the second half of the third century. Under the idea that to give to a piece of metal whatever value they liked, it sufficed to engrave the emperor's name upon it, the Roman government had ended by putting in circulation pieces of silver and gold which contained neither silver nor gold. But when the buyer offered to a dealer, in exchange for what the latter had to sell, a piece of copper coated with tin, it was natural that the trader should require before parting with his merchandise a large amount of this copper, whatever might be the designation which the authorities had attached to the piece. Very high prices resulted therefore from the depreciation of the currency, and the whole state was disturbed by a false economic idea. Diocletian easily saw the cause of this evil; but he thought he could remedy it by an act of supreme power. "All men know," he says, in the preface to his edict, "that articles of traffic and objects of daily use have attained exorbitant prices, four or eight times their true value, or even more than that; so that, through the avarice of monopolists, the provisioning of our armies becomes impossible. We have therefore determined to fix, not the price of these articles, which would be unjust, but the maximum which in each case they will not be allowed to exceed." Many fragments of this edict remain to us; the following are some of the items:

	£	s.	d.
Rye (per bushel)		6	3
Oats		3	0
Common Wine (per quart)		0	10
" Oil		1	3
Pork (per lb.)		0	10
Beef		0	10
Mutton and Goat (per lb.)		0	6½
Lard, first quality		1	1
A Pair of Chickens		3	0
" Ducks		2	0
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	£	s.	d.
A Hare		7	5
A Rabbit		2	0
Oysters (a hundred)		5	0
Eggs "		5	0
Field Labourer's Wages (and food) a day		1	3
Mason or Carpenter's Wages (and food) a day		2	6
House Painter's " " "		3	8
Decorative Painter's " " "		7	5
Shepherd's " " "		1	0
Barber's " (per person) :		1	$\frac{1}{4}$
Reading Master's " (per month, one pupil)		2	6
Arithmetic " " "		3	9
Writing " " "		2	6
Grammar " " "		10	0
To the Rhetorician or Sophist " "		12	5
" Lawyer for an Inquiry		10	0
To the Lawyer for obtaining a Judgment	2	9	8
" Bath Attendant (per bather)		1	$\frac{1}{4}$
Nailless Shoes of Muleteer or Peasant		6	0
Horse's Bridle with Bit		5	0
An Oilskin		5	0
Hire of an Oilskin (per day)		1	$\frac{1}{4}$
Pack-saddle for a Mule or Camel		17	4
" " an Ass		12	5
Woman's Boxwood Comb		8	$\frac{1}{2}$

"As a whole these prices differ but little from city prices in our own time; the dearness of common wine is perhaps the thing most noteworthy, the more so since wine was abundant in all the provinces of the Empire; possibly it paid to the treasury a high tax, comprised in the duty on sales."¹

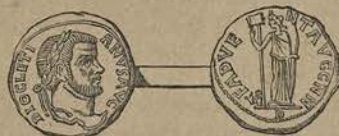
We have not the right to reproach Diocletian severely for the economic fault he committed, for fifteen centuries later the Convention in France again established by law a maximum of prices. The event showed that no human will could prevail in matters like these against the force of circumstances. The dealers, required to sell at a lower price than they had paid, concealed their commodities; the difficulty increased, street brawls followed, in which blood was shed, and it became necessary to let the law drop into disuse.²

But that which the edict could not effect by order, the monetary reform, which took place between 296 and 301, did by degrees. Diocletian coined *argentei*, of which ninety-six were made

¹ Waddington, *Édit. de Dioclétien établissant le maximum dans l'empire romain*, p. 6.

² Lactantius, 7. The edict of *Preſtius* is of the year 301.

to the pound, their weight averaging 3·40 gr.;¹ and *aurei* 60 to the pound, weighing therefore 5·42 gr., which gave them an intrinsic value of about 14s. 2½d.;² lastly, *denarii* of copper, or *folles*, worth 1/20th of an *aureus*, or 06·2 c.³ This last figure is unfortunately uncertain;⁴ it is therefore proper to exercise discretion in respect to the view we have just given, wherein values are stated on the scale of the worth of the copper *denarii*, 06·2 c. But if this list does not give veritable prices, it is at least interesting, as it shows relative values existing



DIOCLETIANVS AVG., Laurelled Head. Felix ADVENT(us) AVGG. NN.; Africa holding a Standard and an Elephant's Tusk. (Medium Bronze.)



IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG., Laurelled Head. On the Reverse: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI ALE; Genius of the Roman People. (Medium Bronze.)



Argentus of Diocletian, marked with the Legal Number XCVI. within a wreath.

between different commodities, and in the remuneration of services. As to the effect produced by the monetary reform, it was inevitable: as the circulation

of good money increased, prices fell back to their natural level.

We have already called attention to the legislative activity of

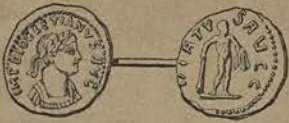
¹ They were called *milliarii* (μυλιαγῆσιον) because it took a thousand of them to equal in value a pound of gold, which shows us that at this time silver was to gold as 1 to 11.

² We have seen that Cæsar made 40 *aurei* from the pound of bullion; Constantine made 72, weighing each 4·55 gr. This piece, called *solidus*, was not again changed until the fall of the Byzantine empire. It is an ordinance of the year 367 which gives 72 *aurei* to the pound; that of the year 325 (*Theod. Code*, xii. 7, 1) says there shall be 7 *solidi* to the ounce of gold, or 84 to the pound (*uncia* = 1/12 of the *libra*); but it was long ago proposed to read in this text *sex* instead of *septem*. A kilogram of pure gold being worth to-day £133 15s. 3d., a Roman pound of 327 grammes of gold represents about £44, which gives the *solidus* an intrinsic value of a little over 12s. Like the *aureus* the *solidus* always bore the effigy of the reigning emperor, and this usage still lasts. Procopius (*Bell. Goth.*, iii. 33) says that a piece of gold bearing any other than the emperor's head would not be received in trade, nor even have currency among the barbarians.

³ In reckoning, the *folles*, or purse, represented 125 *milliarii*, or two purses were equivalent to the ancient *sestertium* (1,000 sesterces). Throughout the Levant, men still compute by purses, and the purse is equal to £4 12s.

⁴ Mommsen reckons the *folles* equal to 1d., while Waddington to about 1/2d. By weight and chemical analysis we are able to determine exactly what quantity of pure metal is found in a coin, and what is the present value of that metal. But it is almost impossible for us to know its relative value in antiquity, that is to say, what debt could be paid, or what merchandise

Diocletian. The *Codes* have preserved 1,200 of his rescripts. Most of these are administrative ordinances, established to regulate the movements of the great machine which he had set at work. Those which concern civil legislation are often merely the repetition of earlier provisions, but to revive good measures and to restore legal force to them is a merit in itself. In these acts elevated sentiments bear sway, and that spirit of justice which marked the decisions of the Antonines. He will not allow the child to refuse



Coin of Diocletian.

support to those who gave him life, the son to be called to testify against the father, the slave against his master, brother against brother, a ward against his guardian. A father complained that his son had plotted against him. "You have the right to

demand justice," the emperor said, "if the sentiments that you ought to feel for your son do not restrain you;"¹ and he declares that a son can neither be sold nor given in pledge by his father.²

He repeats that the tenant (*colonus*) is not liable for the debts of his landlord,³ and charges the judges to remind lawyers of the law,⁴ and even to supply what may be lacking in the pleas, *si quid minus fuerit dictum*.

Like Ulpian he disapproved of the use of torture, and would have the judge resort to this means of obtaining the truth only after everything else had been tried;⁵ and if he called mathematics applied to astrology a damnable art, he declared geometers useful servants of the state.⁶ His justice was alike for all; he repulsed the solicitations made to his superior authority by those who sought to free themselves from a legal obligation. "We are

purchased with such a piece. Another thing disturbs our calculations: the interest in those days was 12 per cent., sometimes, in traffic, 24 per cent., the rate at which in prosperous times the banker Jucundus of Pompeii lent money.

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 47, 5; *ibid.*, iv. 20, 6; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 13; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 17: *Iniquum et longe a seculi nostri beatitudine esse credimus*; *ibid.*, ix. 1, 14.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 43, 1 and 2.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 11, 1, under the heading: *Ut quæ desunt advocatis partium iudex suppleat*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 41, 8: *Hac ratione universi provinciales nostri fructum ingenitæ nobis benevolentie consequuntur*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 18, 2.

not accustomed," he wrote, "to grant one man an advantage which may be harmful to others."¹ And, on another occasion: "An imperial rescript cannot undo that which has been done according to the law."²

Under this emperor, who had spent so large a part of his life in camps, the soldier was not allowed to lift his head and his voice too high. To selfish demands made from the army, Diocletian answered: "It is not befitting the gravity of the soldier."³ Certain of the troops assuming to retain as slaves some Roman citizens who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and whom they had set free: "The captives," Diocletian wrote, "will be restored to all their former rights; for they have not been taken, but recovered; our soldiers are not their masters, but their defenders only."⁴

The preambles to his edicts are highly moral. One reproaches men with their avarice; another recalls to mind that it is the gods who have given Rome her prosperity, and that they will preserve it only so long as the Romans lead a virtuous and devout life.⁵ These are but commonplaces, in which the most profligate rulers have sometimes taken delight, but nothing comes to us against this emperor's personal morals, and we know by his laws that he proscribed profligacy.⁶

There remain many edicts issued by Diocletian to defend the person and property of his subjects, to prevent frauds in trade, to protect the unwary, the minor, the slave, even the debtor, whom he would not keep in servitude,⁷ in a word, to regulate all things throughout his vast Empire according to justice and humanity.⁸

It was to be feared that the division of the Empire might destroy the unity of legislation and of jurisprudence. To facilitate the work of the tribunals, Diocletian caused a compilation of the

¹ *Code Just.*, viii. 49, 4.

² *Ibid.*, v. 3, 9. See p. 575, n. 1, the precautions taken by him to increase the guarantees of honest justice.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 52, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 51, 12.

⁵ *Code Greg.*, v. *de Nuptiis*.

⁶ *Code Just.*, iii. 28, 19; viii. 51, 7, and the numerous fragments of Book ix. 9, 19-28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 10, 12: *Ob æs alienum servire liberos creditoribus, jura compelli non patiuntur.*

⁸ Naudet, *les Changements dans l'administration de l'empire*, pp. 365-371.

imperial laws to be prepared by one of his jurisconsults.¹ The *Gregorian Code* is believed to have begun with an ordinance of Hadrian; it is also with this emperor, his precursor in great administrative reforms, that Diocletian caused the *Augustan History* to be commenced.² He desired to place before the eyes of his subjects the political and constitutional life of the Empire during the last two centuries, and this idea had at once the grandeur and the utility which characterize all the acts of his government, one alone excepted, whose gloomy history it remains for us to relate.

Lactantius reproaches the founder of the tetrarchy with his buildings,³ but Trajan and Hadrian erected a great number; with the ostentation of his surroundings, a splendour really useless, which he made the mistake of believing necessary; finally, with the expense required for the maintenance of four courts, and the increase of the administrative staff.⁴ But the well-being of a state is not measured by the taxes that it pays. Very small taxes are heavy in distracted countries, and heavy ones are light to a prosperous people. Now in Diocletian's lifetime his expenditures had already caused much security,⁵ and they would have occasioned more if his system had endured; for all the productive

¹ The *Gregorian Code* was followed by the *Code of Hermogenianus*; both of them have come down to us in a merely fragmentary condition. The most ancient ordinance given in the former is of the year 196; the most recent of 296 (?). But since the *Gregorian Code* served as a basis to the *Code of Justinian*, which was a collection of the imperial ordinances since the time of Hadrian, it has been thought the ordinances contained in the former commenced with that emperor. The *Codex Hermogenianus* contains, in the *Corpus juris* of Hænel, only the ordinances of Diocletian and Maximian. The *Theodosian Code*, prepared in the reign of Theodosius II., who ordered a collection of all the edicts and ordinances which had been in force since the accession of Constantine, was published in 438. Cf. Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*, vol. ii. p. 205.

² Of the six compilers of the *Augustan History*, three wrote in the reign of Diocletian: Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Spartianus; the other three, Flavius Vopiscus, Ælius Lampridius, and Julius Capitolinus, were also contemporaries of Diocletian, but do not appear to have published their works until some time in the reign of Constantine. These writers are entirely destitute of talent; but without them we should know almost nothing of the period extending from 117 to 284. We therefore owe gratitude to Diocletian, who stimulated this twofold work of codification and of history.

³ In § 7, *de Morte pers.*, written about the year 313. Diocletian erected palaces and basilicas, baths and porticos, but he also repaired the fortifications of the frontiers and rebuilt many ruined cities. See on this subject, *passim*. Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, pp. 117-120, gives the long list of his public works.

⁴ This augmentation of taxes was, according to Aurelius Victor, easily endured: . . . *Pensionibus inducta lex nova quæ sane illorum temporum modestia tolerabilis, in perniciem processit* (Cæs., 39).

⁵ *Cultura duplicatur . . . ubi silvæ fuere, jam seges est* (Pan. vet., iii. 15).

forces developing themselves in the midst of peace, the Empire would have seen the return of the prosperity which characterized the age of the Antonines. It was great during the twenty years of this emperor's reign; contemporaries attest this, even Lactantius, who extols "the supreme felicity of this period," and the bishop of Cæsarea, who exclaims: "How flourishing was the Empire at that time! Its power increased daily, and it enjoyed an unbroken peace."¹

Peace! this word sums up the whole; Diocletian had been able to secure it, and it might have been preserved by his successors, if, remaining faithful to his system, they had, after the example of the four first rulers, formed, "as it were, a musical choir gathered around the leader who regulated the movement and the measure."²

¹ *Tamdiu summa felicitate regnavit, quamdiu manus suas justorum sanguine non inquinaret* (Lactan., *de Morte pers.*, 9; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13; see also many passages of Aur. Victor, *Cæs.*, 39). Burckhardt (*die Zeit Constantins*) discusses the passionate accusations of Lactantius, and leaves none of them standing; he concludes thus (p. 64): *Ueberhaupt möchte seine Regierung, Alles in Allem genommen, eine der besten und wohlvollendsten gewesen sein, welche das Reich je gehabt hat. Sobald man den Blick frei hält von dem schrecklichen Bilde der Christenverfolgung und von den Entstellungen und Uebertreibungen bei Lactantius, so nehmen die Züge des grossen Fürsten einem ganz andern Ausdruck an.*

² "Diocletian," says Julian in the *Cæsars*, "presents himself at the banquet of the gods, accompanied by the two Maximians and Constantius, my ancestor. Although they hold each other by the hand they do not come forward in line; they make, as it were, a musical chorus surrounding Diocletian; they would wish to precede him as his guards, but he prevents them because he desires to attribute to himself no honour above his colleagues. . . . After these four, who together formed so beautiful a harmony . . ."

CHAPTER C.

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS (303-311 A.D.).

I.—THE EDICTS OF PERSECUTION (303).

THE persecution which, commencing under Diocletian, continued for six years after his time, was a terrible one. It has been attributed to the enmity of an old woman,¹ to the cruelty of Galerius, and to the enfeebled mind of an ageing emperor. It was, on the contrary, a well-planned measure of government, a campaign conducted with remarkable ability, but it was also the application of a policy doubly evil, in that it shed blood unjustly and that it did not attain its end; upon Diocletian, who believed it necessary, the responsibility for it must rest.

This Dalmatian, the son of a slave, was worthy of the old Roman stock; he was a man of authority and of cool determination, who decided only after mature reflection, and whose faith in the old cult had not been shaken by the religious novelties brought to Rome from the East. He persecuted the Christians for the reason that he believed them dangerous to the state religion, to military discipline, and to social order. At the beginning of an edict against the Manichæans, he says the same that nine centuries later the Roman Catholic Church was to say, in other words, against the Albigensian Manichæans: "The gods have determined what is just and true; the best men have, by counsel and action, demonstrated and firmly established this. It is not therefore permitted to go counter to this divine and human wisdom, and to assume that a new religion may be better than the old; it is the greatest of crimes to wish to change the institutions of our ancestors."² These are the views of the high pontiff of Rome;

¹ The mother of Galerius, a zealous pagan, whom Lactantius calls . . . *deorum montium cultrix*.

² Preamble to the edict *de Maleficiis et Manichæis* (*Gregor. Code*, xiv. 4). These were the

the emperor, the statesman, did not at first conform his conduct at all to them. He had respected the edict of Gallienus favouring the Churches, and had suffered the Christians to make their way everywhere, into the army, into the court. Eusebius names many who were living near the emperors and on terms of friendship with them, who were making proselytes even in the very family of Diocletian, whose wife and daughter seem to have been gained over to the faith; and he writes: "It is difficult to tell in what high esteem our doctrine is held, and how great is the liberty which we enjoy. The emperors gave the government of the provinces to many of the believers without requiring them to sacrifice to the gods. They permitted their officers publicly, and accompanied by their wives, their children, and their slaves, to fulfil the duties of religion even in the presence of the emperors themselves. The bishops were honoured and churches were built in all the cities."¹

Mazarin said of the French Protestants of his time: "This little flock browses upon pernicious weeds, but it does not go astray." At this epoch of his reign Diocletian had the same opinion in respect to the Christians. A singular phrase in an edict of 311 aids us to understand this involuntary respect for the Crucified. Galerius, in granting peace to the Christians, says: "Our indulgence lays you under obligation to pray to your God for our health and for the prosperity of the Empire." Galerius manifestly believed that Jesus was a god, and that, like Apollo or Jupiter, he could do men good or harm. With the doctrine of

views of enthusiastic pagans and short-sighted statesmen. The idea that the prosperity of the Empire depended upon an assiduous worship of the gods, was in the mind of the emperor and in the minds of many of his subjects. Vopiscus (in *Care*, 9) promises Galerius and Diocletian the most brilliant triumphs, *si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor*.

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6: "Dorotheus and Gorgonus, raised to high office, were loved of the emperors as if they had been their own children." Lucian, chief of the eunuchs, had relations with the bishop of Alexandria, Theonas, who wrote thus to him: *Quanto . . . ipsis Christianis, velut fidelioribus, vitam et corpus suum curandum credidit (Diocletianus), tanto decet vos sollicitiores esse . . . ut per id plurimum Christi nomen glorificetur*. In the same letter Theonas speaks of the peace *per bonum principem ecclesiis concessa*. (Routh, *Reliq. sacr.*, iii. 439.) This letter, the passage of Eusebius which has just been quoted, and the whole history of the reign of Diocletian, prevent us from admitting the opinion, supported by various Roman Catholic writers, that there was an official persecution in the first years of this reign. Official, I have said, because there may have been isolated condemnations, pronounced for assumed crimes against the common law. In respect to Christians who were friends of the emperor, see Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 76.

the *δαίμονες*, all is explained. In that time of philosophic and religious confusion, pagans and Christians believed in demons: the evil ones were the opponents' gods; the good, those whom the individual himself adored, and all men accepted the miracles attributed to both classes. Diocletian certainly held this opinion, and continued to hold it so long as toleration did not seem to be dangerous.

To prevent revolutions, to render hopeless the intrigues of ambitious men and the insurrections of the soldiery, and to condemn to tranquillity and apprehension the enemies outside, such had been the object of his reign; and up to this time all had yielded to his prudence and his arms. But within a grave difficulty remained which was increasing every day. For forty years the Christians had enjoyed freedom of worship, and their courage had increased with their numbers. They might be heard passionately accusing the whole human race of having lived in mental darkness, save in one remote corner of the world. Nothing had as yet impaired the Roman idea of the family: the domestic worship was always performed on the hearthstone of the parental abode, or at the tombs of their ancestors, and now these beloved dead were condemned to eternal flames. At a time when the state, accepted as a divine existence, claimed the right of governing men's consciences as well as their outward acts, the Christians were in revolt against the gods, and nearly so against the constituted authorities. "Who are you?" Galerius said to them; "a turbulent Jewish sect, which has denied the God of its fathers, and then attacked the gods of the Empire; which has made laws for itself according to its own caprice, and gathers in seditious assemblies."¹ And, in truth, they formed in the midst of the sickly and disordered pagan world a state full of life and hope, for this new republic had what the old had long since ceased to possess: its popular assemblies, its elections, its leaders chosen by common consent, and in its councils that representative system whose force had never been brought to bear in the Empire. Upon whatever

¹ These are the terms of the edict of 311. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17; and Lactantius, 34: *Volueramus . . . juxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam, Romanorum cuncta corrigere atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.*

point in the provinces the emperors turned their eyes, they beheld communities of men at once enthusiastic and disciplined, docile at the voice of their pastors, sometimes rebellious against that of the magistrates, having other manners and another spirit from that possessed by their fellow-citizens, strangers in the midst of their native country, indifferent to her and to her fate. Certainly it was a peril for the pagan state, and for the social order which the state represented. In the administrative and in the official world there were many who regretted that the misfortunes of the time, the captivity of Valerian, the weakness of his son, had not permitted the extirpation from the social body of this hostile element which undermined it, and certain incidents seemed to justify this feeling on the part of those blind adherents of a perishing past.

Eusebius speaks of a great agitation of the Churches about this time. Was it perhaps a revival of the old Montanist spirit? Were some hot-headed disciples of Tertullian¹ declaring that the camp-life was incompatible with the Christian life? This we do not know. The soldiers were not volunteers; the service was obligatory, and once enlisted the soldier must remain in the camps for many long years. The tedium of barrack-life, the anxieties of conscience, brought many of them to regard it as impiety to serve idolatrous rulers and as a sacrilege to share in national festivals which the army celebrated with military pomp. It is probable that through the different corps the Christians lived separately, forming *conciliabula* which excited suspicion; that in the cities secret visits to Christian communities were detected which had the air of being intrigues leading to plots. The *Acts* of St. Victor give this last motive as the cause of that martyr's condemnation.

The bishop of Cæsarea was the contemporary of the events which he relates, and his testimony is to be received when he has no interest in altering the fact. Now his words authorize us to believe that there were in the army excesses of zeal, and for the sake of religion violations of the military law; that Christians refused to be enrolled, which was desertion; that they refused to

¹ See the *de Corona milit.* of Tertullian, and what he says in chap. xi.: *Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere?* "Is it to be believed that the pledge to the emperor can be placed higher than the pledge to God?"

fulfil certain services commanded them, which was a disobedience; or certain obligations resting upon every soldier as such, like the carrying of particular standards, etc. The *Acts* of the martyrs confirm this interpretation.

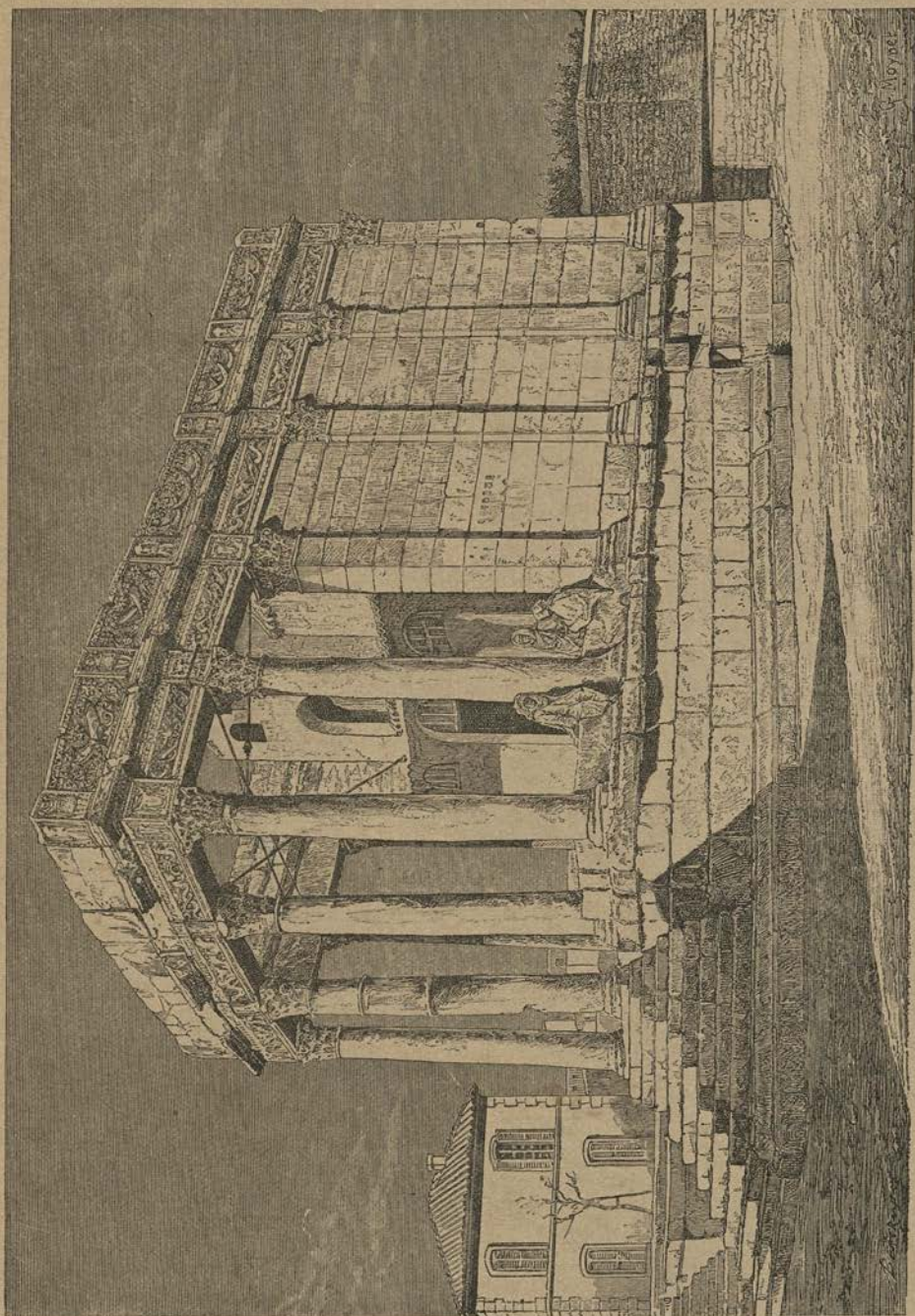
At Theveste, a citizen who, by the amount of his land-tax, was bound to furnish a soldier, led to the proconsul his son Maximilian, whom the recruiting officer had accepted as good for the service. Upon the order to place himself under the measure that his height might be marked, Maximilian replied that, being a Christian, he could not be a soldier. The magistrate paid no attention to this, but caused him to be measured; then ordered that the cord should be put around his neck to which was suspended the leaden tablet which bore the description of each soldier. "I shall break it," Maximilian exclaimed, "and never wear anything but the token of my only master Jesus Christ." The proconsul explained to him that he could, as so many others had done, freely fulfil all his religious duties; but the Montanist persisted and was put to death for the refusal of the military oath. The sentence makes no reference to the Christian faith.¹ A little later, in this same Africa where Tertullian had lauded desertion from the army and had urged to martyrdom,² at Tingis, on one occasion when the garrison were celebrating the birthday of Maximian, the centurion Marcellus threw down at the feet of the soldiers his vine-branch, his military belt, and his weapons, saying: "I will no longer serve your emperors, and I despise their gods of wood and stone." Instead of silently taking advantage of what the government at that time allowed, liberty of conscience, or even his dismissal from the army, he insulted, in the midst of a solemn ceremony, both the state religion and the emperors; this was a public provocation which could not be tolerated, and he was put to death.³ The law commanded this punishment, and Marcellus had sought it.

The government at last began to notice these acts of disorder.

¹ Extract from the official *Acts*: *ut a notariis excepta: . . . in sacro comitatu Christiani sunt et militant* (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 299). This took place in the year 295 or 296.

² See above, chap. xci. Tertullian says, in the *de Fuga*, 9: *Spiritus omnes pene ad martyrium exhortatur*.

³ *Acta sincera*, p. 302. The date is uncertain; it may have been 298.



Principal Façade of the Temple of Minerva at Theveste (modern Tabessa).

It had need, both for itself and for the Empire, to be sure of its troops, and it was not so with soldiers who proposed to limit their obedience. A purifying of the army was resolved on; those who declared their religious faith incompatible with their presence under the standards were discharged.

"Many," says Eusebius,¹ "left the service. A general having given his soldiers the choice of renouncing their religion or their military grade, they preferred to confess the name of Jesus and part with their worldly advantages."

This consideration for soldiers who refused to submit to the common rule was not habitual with the Romans.² Galerius was indignant at it; he saw in it the loss of discipline, in which he was right; and it would have been satisfactory to him to use against all Christians the means of intimidation employed against those in the army.

Although Diocletian had shown in Egypt that he did not hesitate in shedding blood when it was a question of chastising rebels, he hesitated to strike those who were not in open opposition to the law. He hoped that an execution now and then, in virtue of military law, would suffice to repress everywhere the extremes of religious zeal. But now civil society, in its turn, becomes unsettled, and the great administrative instrument of the Empire, the municipal system, begins to work badly and threatens to become useless. The Christian is no more willing to be a citizen than a soldier.³ He refuses the office of *duumvir*, even of *decurion*, because of the pagan observances these offices impose; he divides or distributes his property that he may no longer possess the twenty-five *jugera* which condemn him to the *curia*, and the Christian emperors later were compelled to take severe measures

¹ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1 and 4. The measure was general, *datis ad propositos litteris*, says Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 10); and he adds: *nec amplius quidquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit*.

² The edict was not formally obeyed everywhere. The *Acts* of SS. Julius, Nicander, and Marcan, show soldiers put to death for having refused to burn, along with their comrades, a grain of incense upon the altar, on receiving the largess given by Galerius on occasion of the tenth anniversary of his accession. Generals accustomed to punish severely all disobedience had felt themselves, in condemning these soldiers, to be acting in accordance with the military law.

³ "Public affairs are not our affairs." *Nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica* (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 38).

against those "who serve the Church, rather than the senate;"¹ such is the penury of the *honestiores* that Diocletian permits the duties of the decurionate to be imposed upon freedmen, and even upon persons who have been branded as infamous.²

At this time also, between philosophers and Christians, and between differing sects, disputes recommence or continue, and the air is full of clamour. From Persia, that perpetual enemy of the Empire, comes a new sect, the Manichæans. Formed at the expense of the doctrines of Zoroaster and of Jesus, it agitates men's minds in the border provinces of the two Empires, and as usual the magistrates accuse it of a thousand crimes which S. Epiphane relates, turning against these sectaries the accusation of scandalous mysteries with which the Christians had long been pursued.³ In Egypt Meletius makes a schism;⁴ Hierax begins another. In Africa the language exchanged between the bishops at the Council of Cirta (305) shows the violence of some of these men of peace, and announces that of the Donatists, who a few years later covered the province with blood and ruins. Porphyry, or a Neo-Platonist of his school, composes at this time his treatise against the Christians, which doctors and bishops combat with sharp refutations.⁵ A famous rhetorician, Arnobius, attacks the Church which later he was to defend, and a great functionary of the Empire, Hierocles, viceregent of the district of Bithynia,

¹ *Curiales qui ecclesiis malunt servire quam curiis* (Code Theod., xii. 104, 115).

² *Infames persone . . . curialium vel civilium munus vacationem non habent* (Code Theod., x. 56 and 57).

³ Before becoming an orthodox Christian, S. Augustine had been for nine years a Manichæan, which leads us to believe there could be no immorality in this cult. The ordinance of Diocletian says: . . . *de Persica adversaria nobis gente . . . multa facinora committere, populos quietos turbare* (Code Greg., xiv. 4). The chiefs of the sect shall be burned with their books; the adherents of low estate decapitated; the *honestiores* sent to the mines. The date of the rescript is uncertain.

⁴ "Separating himself from Peter, his metropolitan, and the other bishops, he published calumnies against them." (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, viii, 24 [about 301].)

⁵ Lactantius mentions a philosopher who, in 303, wrote at Nicomedia three books against the Christians. It has been questioned that this philosopher was Porphyry, because the author of the *Divine institutions* (v. 2) speaks of his disorderly life. But Lactantius never hesitates to calumniate his adversaries, and we know from S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, x. 32) that Porphyry was still living at the time of the persecution. At least it is established by the words of Lactantius that a philosopher wrote at Nicomedia even against the Christians at the moment of the promulgation of the edict, which suffices for our statement. Some critics place the composition of Porphyry's book between the years 290 and 300. S. Methodius combated it in a poem of ten thousand lines. (S. Jerome, *de Viris ill.*, 83.) Eusebius also refuted it.

mingles in the fray. The latter publishes his *Philalethes*,¹ "the Friend of Truth," setting over against the miracles of Jesus those of Apollonius of Tyana, "who, however," he says, "was not made a god for that." And it is not questions of dogma which are in dispute; to such the people would not care to listen. Porphyry, with murderous accusation, shows the plague ravaging cities, and Æsculapius failing to drive it away, because he himself has fled far from the abominations of the Christian faith.² To the strifes of doctors corresponds that of the crowd. Some exclaim that the gods of Olympus are demons, and assume to themselves the power of driving them out; others dread this satanic power, and imagine that the sign of the cross will hinder sacrifices from being completed.³ No man ever saw the gods flee away or the flame upon the altar go out at a Christian's gesture; but the pagan world believed them capable of every crime, and reviled them while waiting to be allowed to drag them into the arena.

The Christians fight among themselves also. "The liberty which we enjoyed," says Eusebius, "had caused the relaxation of discipline. The war began among ourselves by violent language; bishops against bishops, people against people. When the evil had reached its height, divine justice raised its arm to punish us. The believers who followed the profession of arms were the first to be persecuted. After this warning from the Lord, instead of seeking to propitiate him, we added crimes to crimes; our pastors, despising the divine rules, disputed bitterly with each other and strove for the highest rank. Then, according to the word of Jeremiah, the Lord from Heaven overthrew the glory of Israel."⁴

¹ *Ausus est libros suos nefarios ac Dei hostes φιλαληθείς annotare* (Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, v. 2, and what remains to us of the treatise of Eusebius against Hierocles).

² Euseb., *Præp. Ev.*, v. 1; Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, iv. 27.

³ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 10: *cum adstiterint immolanti imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum, quo facto fugatis demonibus, sacra turbata sunt*. Prudentius also relates that the sacrifices of Julian were disturbed by the presence of a Christian. "On occasions of temptation the Christians add to the sign of the cross the blowing to drive away the demon." (Fleury, *les Mœurs des chrétiens*, p. 63.)

⁴ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 1. These sad quarrels continued throughout the persecution. Eusebius breaks off in his account of the martyrs in Palestine to say again: "I will not speak of the ambition of some men, of their rash and unlawful laying-on of hands, of the differences and disputes of the martyrs themselves, of the divisions by which they tore the members yet remaining to the Church." See Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 98, 100, and 103, in respect to the disorders at Rome; the canons of the Council of Elvira for those which it was necessary to repress in Spain; the acts, first scandalous, later abominable, of the African *circumcelliones*;

It was in the East that religious animosities were the most bitter, and from February, 299, to the beginning of the year 302, Diocletian resided there almost constantly.¹ When in the autumn of this latter year he returned to Nicomedia, his mind was made



Coin of Nicomedia.²

up that it would be necessary to put an end to these agitations and bring back tranquillity into civil society, as he had brought it back into the legions and into the provinces. Galerius had long been of this opinion. But what means should be adopted? During the entire winter the two rulers discussed this terrible question. Lactantius asserts

that Diocletian would have been content with prohibiting the army and the palace to the Christians, that is to say, military and administrative duties; that finally he laid the matter before the consistory, and that this council gave their opinion as the same with that of Galerius. The measures with which



Didymæan
Apollo, on a Coin
of Miletus.³

Diocletian would have been willing to stop would not have been more severe than those which excluded from public office and the liberal professions the Protestants of France up to the time of the Revolution and the Roman Catholics in England to our own time. But the obstinate conservatives of the day made every effort to force the Augustus into the

most sanguinary road. The contradictory feelings of the statesman and the pagan which fought within him threw this strong soul into a trouble whence he sought escape by asking advice of heaven. He decided that the question should be laid before the oracle of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus.⁴ Apollo could have no indulgence for those who ruined his priests and blasphemed his

the wretched intrigues attributed by S. Athanasius to the Eusebians; the denunciations sent in to Constantine in 325 by the bishops against several of their brethren (Rufinus, i. 2), etc., and we shall be convinced that along with great virtues the Christian communities had many weaknesses, which is very human, and that it will not do always to accept the Church of the legends as the real Church of history.

¹ So we infer from the date of many rescripts. (Mommson, *Zeitf.*, p. 444.)

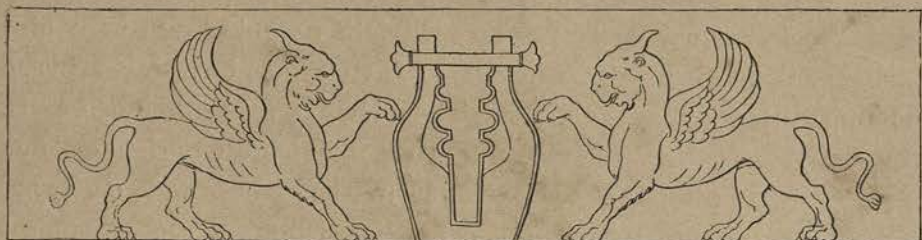
² ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΟ ΝΕΥΚΟΡΩΝ. Love fleeing from a kneeling Psyche. (Reverse of a bronze of Maximus.)

³ ΔΙΔΥΜΕΥΣ ΜΙΑΘΙΩΝ. The god standing, holding a bow and a small figure of a stag. (Reverse of a bronze of Claudius.)

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, II.

name; the oracle made reply that the enemies of the gods must be destroyed. The Christians therefore appeared to be condemned both by human and divine wisdom.

If we may believe Lactantius, Galerius proposed to have those who refused to sacrifice burned alive. Diocletian hoped to attain the suppression of the Church without bloodshed. The resolution he was about to take was a very serious one, and he asked the pontiffs to designate a propitious day for its execution. They indicated the festival of the Terminalia (23rd February, 303) as the day on which the accursed sect should be brought to an end.



Bas-relief from the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus. (Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, pl. 140, fig. 2.)

At daybreak the prætorian prefect, accompanied by *duces*, tribunes, and soldiers, presented himself before the church in Nicomedia, forced an entrance, and seizing the sacred objects committed them to the flames. He would have set fire to the buildings, but Diocletian, who from the roof of the palace surveyed what was done, fearing that a fire might spread among the adjacent buildings, ordered the temple to be demolished. On the following day appeared the first edict of persecution: the Christian churches were to be destroyed, the religious books burned, and the sacred places and cemeteries confiscated.¹ Those who refused to sacrifice were to be branded with infamy, of whatever rank they were, declared incapable of filling any public office, and in case of condemnation for any crime subjected to the penalties denounced against the *humiliores*. All judicial proceedings would be authorized against them, while they could institute none against others;² their

¹ De Rossi, *Roma sotterr.*, ii. p. viii. and 378. Constantine, in his turn, ordered the books of Porphyry to be burned.

² To leave to the Christians no way of eluding the law, *aræ in secretariis et pro tribunali posite, ut litigatores prius sacrificarent* (Lactantius, 15).

assemblies were prohibited; he who was already placed by his condition among the *humiliores* was made a slave of the treasury,¹ and the Christian slave could never be enfranchised. This first edict did not go so far as that issued by Valerian; it did not order the death of the Christians, but it made of them a people of pariahs. Measures nearly similar to these were adopted upon the



Mutilated Statue, found in the Ruins of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo. (Texier, *ibid.*, fig. 3.)

revocation of the Edict of Nantes: a double iniquity which was the consequence and has remained the condemnation of state religions.

Violence calls for violence. Diocletian would have been glad to have escaped shedding blood, but it was to flow in torrents. An indignant Christian tore down the edict and destroyed it with loud reproaches against the Augustus and the Cæsar: "These are their bulletins of victory over the Goths and Sarmatians!" he cried ironically. To pluck down an imperial edict was a crime of high treason, and the man was burned on a

fire of charcoal.² Soon after this a fire broke out in the palace, and fifteen days later a second fire occurred near the rooms occupied by the emperor. It is difficult to impute this double fire to chance. Lactantius makes Galerius responsible for it, who then threw the blame upon the Christians in order to exasperate Diocletian, and Eusebius makes Constantine relate to the Fathers at the Council of Nicæa that he had seen a thunderbolt, the instrument of divine justice fall upon the palace and set it on fire.³

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1, and the *Actes* of S. Theodosius of Ancyra. (Bollandists, May 18th.)

² *Legitime coctus*, says Lactantius, that is, burned according to the established rules (*de Morte pers.*, 13). It is remarkable that the first edict was not promulgated in Syria till fifty days later, and in Africa after four months. With his habitual prudence, Diocletian waited to see the effects of the blow he had struck at Nicomedia.

³ *Orat. ad S. Coet.*, xxv. According to this passage, the damage done by the fire must have been very considerable.

But the Constantine of Eusebius often saw, between heaven and earth, things that no other person ever witnessed. It was more natural to accuse the Christians, and the life of the emperors appeared threatened by an extensive conspiracy. If this danger was really imaginary, they had at least reason to dread the revenge of individuals, and the Christians were now so numerous that there were to be found among them, beside resigned victims,



Fragments of the Entablature of the Temple of the Didymæan Apollo.¹ (Louvre.)

men of war who would not submit to injustice. Galerius was no longer safe in Nicomedia, and he quitted the city. Left alone in the palace, Diocletian, who also felt himself surrounded by assassins, ordered a severe search to be made, and all those who could be suspected of being adherents to the new faith to be required to sacrifice. The wife and daughter of the emperor, who seem to have been reluctant, set the example; others followed; but certain slaves, freedmen, and eunuchs refused, and this refusal appeared to convict them as authors or accomplices in the recent crime, and they were cruelly put to death. The investigation was pursued outside of the palace, and suspicion produced culprits; the

¹ See in vol. iii. p. 595, the bases of the columns of this temple, and, in vol. v. p. 71, a view of its ruins.

bishop of Nicomedia was beheaded, and many persons of humble condition were burned or thrown into the sea.

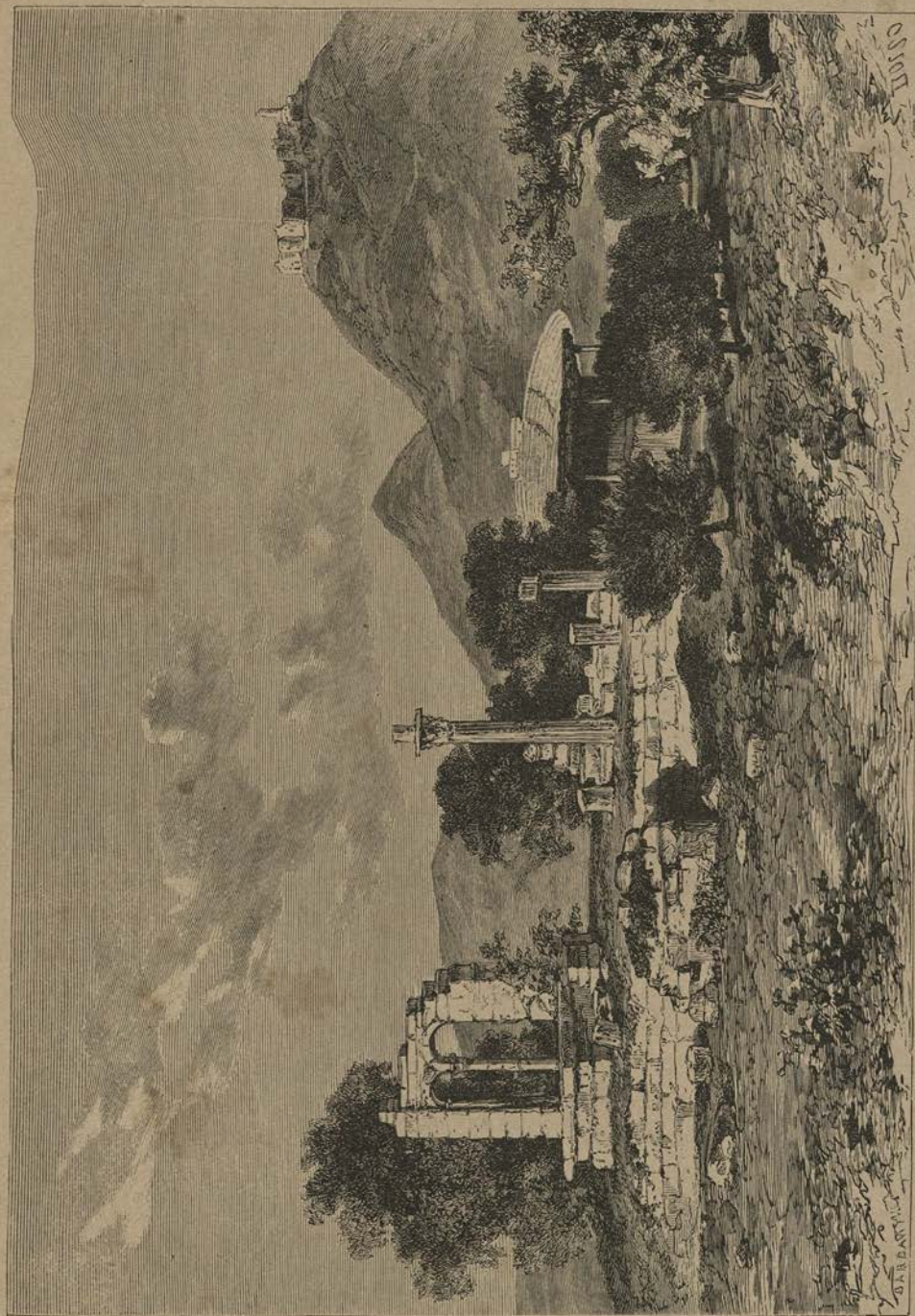
At Nicomedia, the Christians suffered as incendiaries; in the provinces, they were accused as rebels. It appears certainly that to the exasperation caused at certain points by the destruction of the churches, may be attributed two insurrections which—a thing unknown in twenty years—broke out, one at Antioch, the other in the Melitene on the upper Euphrates. Nothing is known of the latter, which might have become dangerous owing to the neighbourhood of Armenia, where Christianity, preached by S. Gregory Illuminator, was at that time making great progress.¹ As to the revolt in Syria, Libanius represents it, eighty years later, as a foolish freak of the soldiers.² But the leader of these soldiers had assumed the purple, and the magistrates of Antioch and of Seleucia with many of the inhabitants were put to death. If the Christians had not been in some way concerned in these movements, Eusebius would not have mentioned them, especially he would not have indicated them as the cause which determined Diocletian to issue a new and more severe edict.³ In the eyes of the emperor this had been an attempt to transfer the Empire to the Christians; and it was an attempt by no means absurd, since, though unsuccessful in 303, it did in fact succeed eight years later. In the last year of the persecution, the governor of Palestine, hearing a martyr speak of the heavenly Jerusalem, formed the idea that the Christians proposed to build a city and fortify themselves in it against the Romans. This governor is ridiculous, but his apprehension was not so; for he naturally believed that the persecuted, whose ardour to meet death he could not understand, would seize any method of escaping from persecution.

A century earlier they aspired to heaven only; but their strength increasing with their numbers, they began to concern themselves with the affairs of earth. Sagacious as he always was,

¹ Simeon Metaphrastes relates the story of the thirty-three Christians martyred at Melitene, but Tillemont (*Mém. eccl.*, v. 171) does not believe that these *Acts* are trustworthy. If they have historic foundation, we must still see in them, according to their own details, an execution for refusal of military service and for blows and wounds inflicted on the recruiting officers.

² *Disc.*, xiv.

³ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, ii.



Ruins of Seleucia. (Léon Delaborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, pl. 72.)

Diocletian was aware of the evolution which went on unconsciously in the minds of many, but was revealed to him by the fire in the palace and the two revolts breaking out amidst the profound calm of the Empire. For twenty years this emperor, who placed the interests of order above everything else, had constrained his gods and their priests to toleration; from the moment when he believed the public peace in danger he sought to save it by energetic measures, still, if possible, without bloodshed. He bethought himself of an old law of the Empire which permitted*him to punish, without leaving them the resource of an appeal, those who were regarded as *seditionum concitatores vel duces factionum*;¹ and against the insurrection, or the propaganda that he dreaded, he took the clergy as hostages. His second edict ordered the arrest of bishops, priests, and deacons, who should refuse to deliver up the Holy Scriptures. By demolishing the churches he prevented the Christians from holding their assemblies and celebrating their religious rites; by depriving these communities of their pastors, he hoped that, left without direction or discipline, these societies would dissolve or would cease to be dangerous; lastly, by the destruction of their sacred books, he expected to put a stop to teaching, and by all these methods to extinguish the faith.² In the moral condition of the world these measures must have remained powerless; the future belonged to Christianity, and against it two emperors will waste their strength.

The two edicts of the year 303 did not mention the death penalty; Diocletian had counted upon their comminatory effect.³ The Christians, at that time numbering several millions, could not be all punished, but the emperor hoped to intimidate all, to cause apostasies among the leaders, and easily bring back the frightened crowd into the temples of the gods. The *Acts* of S. Romanus,

¹ *Digest*, XLIX. i. 16.

² An edict of Constantine (Euseb., *Life of Const.*, ii. 30-34) gives liberty to Christians detained in islands, quarries, or mines; restores their property to those who, without being *curiales* by birth, had been *addicti curiæ*, which had placed their fortune at the disposal of the municipal administrations; and gives back their grades, or the *honesta missio*, to officers and soldiers who had been expelled from the army, their honours to those who had been branded with infamy, their condition of free-born to those who had been made slaves, etc. This edict completes our knowledge of the penalties pronounced against the Christians.

³ See the *Acts* of S. Hilary (Bollandists, March 16th): . . . *ut ipso tormentato, universi ejus corrigantur exemplo*. (Le Blant, *op. cit.*, p. 42.)

though mingled with legend, prove that Galerius even dared not pronounce a death sentence. He was himself at Antioch when Romanus was condemned to be burned alive, less perhaps on account of his generous persistence in confessing his faith than for words which his judge considered acts of treason; for example, these: "Christ alone is my king." The authorities dared not proceed to execution without the order of Galerius, and the Caesar did not give the order.¹ At Carthage the same hesitation was manifested, not in torturing, but in taking life. The proconsul permits S. Saturninus to proclaim his faith openly, and makes this no ground of accusation; but he asks whether Saturninus has taken part in assemblies contrary to the imperial law, and whether he has kept books of magic.² The saint replies with this sentence which has been ever since the Church's teaching: "First of all we must obey God." The Christians refused therefore to submit to the laws of exterior order. That these laws were bad no man doubts; but the revolt against them was none the less a revolt against the established government; and still the proconsul, after having put the accused to the torture in the hope of obtaining from them a word which will permit him to set them free, sends them to the public prison, and there he leaves them.³ On the subject of these *Acta*, we shall remark further that the magistrate carefully separates the question of religion from that of public order. When the brethren cry out to him: "We are Christians!" he replies: "That is not what I ask you;" and the sole question that he puts to them is this: "Have you been at the assembly?" or "Have you in your possession forbidden books?"⁴ These gatherings having been prohibited by the sovereign power, fell under the action of the old laws against secret societies, and the *Evangelists* which propagated the faith, and the *Passiones* which

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Palest.*, 2. The same happened in the case of Alpheus and Zaccheus: Χριστὸν βασιλεῖα Ἰησοῦν (*ibid.*, 1). Procopius, being called upon to burn incense in honour of the four rulers, replies with a line of Homer: "It is not good to have so many masters; we desire but one." The judge considers these words an insult to the emperors, a revolt against the government, and orders the punishment of treason. (Euseb., *ibid.*) Many of the judges made the attempt to transform the prosecutions against the Christians into political prosecutions.

² Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 337; *Acta SS. Saturnini, Dativi*, etc., § 12.

³ Bollandists, February 11th, §§ 7 and 16.

⁴ Ruinart, *Acta sinc.*, p. 367.

extolled it, seemed to the pagans to have the character of books of magic, which were proscribed.¹

Meanwhile the imprisonment of the priests did not produce the expected effect; a third edict ordered the setting at liberty of those who would sacrifice, and the constraining of the rest by all possible means to abandon their faith.² The government had been able legally to prohibit assemblies which it believed dangerous, and to require of its functionaries that they should sacrifice to the gods of the Empire; but it had not the right to impose this obligation upon all Christians. Drawn on by the fatal progression of a bad design, the intelligent but severe man who ruled at Nicomedia was about to make his reign, until then peaceful and renowned, the era of the martyrs.

As is the case in all times of persecution there were governors who, averse to violence, closed their eyes, or contented themselves with an apparent submission. The bishop of Carthage, Mensurius, had left only a few heretical treatises in his church; these the proconsul seized, and when he was informed where the sacred books were concealed, he refused to make search for them. All the churches also were not demolished; several of them were only closed, and some even were allowed to remain open.⁴



Marble Head found in the Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Nicomedia.³

¹ Prudentius (*Perist.*, i. 75) says that many of the *Acta* of the martyrs were at that time destroyed. We have seen Diocletian in Egypt burn books of occult science.

² Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 6.

³ This antique head, now lost, was drawn by Peyssonnel at the time of his journey in 1745. The unpublished MS. of this journey is in the library of the Institute of France, whence we have taken the above sketch.

⁴ Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 29, 37, etc.

In other places much ingenuity was used in finding ways for the Christians to satisfy the law against their own consent. "A man," says Eusebius, "being dragged to the altar and constrained to touch the abominable viands, was set free as if he had willingly sacrificed. Another had held out his hand towards the box containing incense, but had taken none from it; and the pagans cried out that he had sacrificed to the gods. The former, half dead from the blows he had received, was cast in with the renegades; the latter vainly protested that he had not done what was required of him, they stopped his mouth by force, so eager were these wretches to have it believed that they had succeeded in their attempts."¹ Elsewhere the judge said to the Christian: "Sacrifice to whom you will, even to your own God;"² and to make those present believe that a Christian had yielded, drinking the wine of libations, there was offered him water in a red glass.³ "I have seen," Lactantius further says, "governors boasting of never having pronounced a single death sentence, and proud of having conquered the Christians."⁴ It was not that persecution always offended their consciences; for their reputation of skill one apostasy was worth more than ten condemnations. The Donatus to whom Lactantius dedicated his book, *de Morte persecutorum*, was nine times put to the torture, never in a manner to be fatal, but always with such cruelty that there was reason to expect recantation. In many *Acta* we even read of money offered and honours promised in return for an abjuration.⁵

When, on occasion of the festivals which celebrated the twentieth year of his reign, Diocletian, according to custom, proclaimed an amnesty,⁶ the prison doors, opened for all ordinary convicts, remained closed upon the Christians. He had put the clergy in confinement through fear of an insurrection, and as he still retained that fear, he kept his captives. By the two first edicts

¹ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 1. However, in certain places there existed a strong antipathy: not only did men crowd the scene of execution as a spectacle, but they pillaged the goods of the prisoners and fugitives. (*Actes de S. Théodule d'Ancyre*, Bollandists, May 18th.)

² Bollandists, March 3rd and July 14th.

³ Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 422.

⁴ *Div. instit.*, v. 11.

⁵ Léop. Delisle, *Note sur un manuscrit de Prudence*, p. 6. Cf. Edm. le Blant, Supplement to the *Actes* of Ruinart, p. 35.

⁶ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 2. This is the *abolitio generalis* of the *Code Just.*, ix. 43.

the Christians had been degraded from civil honours, deprived of the protection of the laws, and declared criminals if they did not surrender their sacred writings or if they continued to hold their meetings.¹ The third had directed the employment of all means to obtain conversions, without however authorizing in the first phase of the persecution the extreme penalty. There were executions for offences regarded as crimes against the common law:



Fragment of a Glass Disc, representing the Commemoration of the Twentieth Year of Diocletian's Reign.²

insults to the gods, to the emperors, secret assemblies or forbidden meetings; and, as it were not possible that an angry policy like this should be everywhere conducted with moderation, privations and tortures had caused many captives to perish in prison. Many, also, under the weight of moral and physical sufferings, had yielded to weakness. The *lapsi* who sacrificed, the *traditores* who gave up the sacred books, the timid who concealed their faith,³ had been

¹ Euplius, a deacon, was beheaded at Catana, August 12th, 304, for having, contrary to the edicts, called together the Christian community; likewise Philip of Heracleia in Thrace, the martyrs of Abitina in Africa, S. Saturninus, etc.

² *Bulletin de la commission archéologique de Rome*, tenth year, No. 3, pl. xx. (July to September, 1882).

³ The canons of the Council of Elvira, held in 305, show that many believers had concealed their faith, had filled the offices of duumvir, flamen, and sacrificer, had given money for pagan festivals, for spectacles, and games; the Council even gives them permission, if they fear to be denounced by their slaves, to keep idols in their houses, on condition of paying them no worship, etc. This is not contradictory to what has been said above of the decline of the municipal system through the unwillingness of Christians to accept office. The penances imposed by the Council of Elvira are evidently addressed to certain rich men who have commuted with their consciences in order to preserve their wealth, and these capitulations occur in all ages of the world. The heresy of the Donatists began in 311, when Donatus attacked the election to the see of Carthage of Cæcilianus, who had been ordained by a bishop *traditor*.

numerous and became, after the persecution had ceased, a subject of violent dissensions in the Church. At Antioch, a great city whose inhabitants were half of them Christians, Romanus was the only person left in prison.¹

It seemed then that one more blow would suffice to beat down this Church whose pillars were tottering, and to bring back the whole Empire to the old faith. Maximian and Galerius thought so, and when in 304 the long and serious illness of Diocletian left them masters of the government, they revived in all its original vigour the last edict of Valerian. The *Acta* of S. Sabinus, of which the authenticity is doubtful,² relate that when Maximian was present at the games of the circus at Rome, all the people cried out, "Let the Christians die!" and that the emperor caused it to be proposed to the senate by the prætorian or urban prefect that a decree should be prepared condemning the Christians to sacrifice or die.³ This is improbable on the face of it, the abandoning to the senate of a legislation so important being contrary to all that the history of the time teaches us. We should therefore reject this decree mentioned in *Acta* of such doubtful authenticity were it not that Eusebius speaks of imperial letters ordering all men to be present at the sacrifices and take part in them.⁴ Maximian must therefore have written them, or Galerius caused them to be signed by the second Augustus, in a moment of excitement, and the crime of Christianizing was again inscribed in the laws. Thus war, unchained by the three wild beasts, as Lactantius says, raged with fury.

The persecution was destined to last eight years. What part, in this tragic history, belongs to Diocletian? . We have seen his repugnance to extreme measures. The hatred of the Christians did not concern itself with him; it is Galerius whom they have pursued with their maledictions. We must also remember that the just horror inspired by these cruelties has deceived the world in respect to the number of victims. Palestine was full of Christians, but in the year 304 ten only perished, of whom six came of their

¹ Μόρος, says Eusebius (*Mart. de Pal.*, 2).

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41 and 603.

³ *Ap. Surius*, December 31st.

⁴ Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 3.

own accord to the executioner.¹ Italy and Spain had few; at least, in those countries the *Acta* are rare, and mostly of doubtful authenticity,² and we see that the Roman believers wishing to obtain relics went at that time to seek them in the East. Illyricum, too near the barbarians to possess great cities given up like Antioch and Alexandria to theological quarrels, occupied itself first of all with its terrestrial safety. It had few bishoprics, and the martyrs given to it are few in number; one only became popular, S. Irenæus of Sirmium.³ In Britain and in Gaul, Constantius Chlorus contented himself with destroying a few churches: "He did not destroy the temple built up to God in the hearts of the faithful."⁴ In Egypt and in the Oriental provinces, the martyrs executed, and still more the confessors sent to the mines after cruel tortures, were very numerous.⁵ But one thing is singular: in the chapter in which Eusebius relates the glorious deaths of the "pastors of the Church" during all the persecution, he names only nine bishops.⁶ But the imperial government knew them all; they were the heads of the Churches, and according to the system of Diocletian the head was to be struck; but we have seen that he did not wish to strike mortal blows.

It does not seem even that the administration made search after the Christians, *inquisitio*; otherwise it would have been necessary to employ one part of the Empire in exterminating the

¹ During the eight years that the persecution lasted, Eusebius, who was on the spot and has written the history of it, enumerates, in Palestine only, eighty martyrs. From this number Gibbon estimates that there may have been, throughout the entire Empire, 2,000 martyrs in the eight years, a sad and monstrous number, certainly, for one single victim would have been too much; but every estimate must be uncertain.

² Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. pp. 41, 58, 74, etc. The most celebrated of the Spanish martyrs of that time was S. Vincent, whose *Acta* are a legend filled with miracles. The famous inscriptions of Clunia are ranged by Hübner (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 233) among the apocrypha, and are in their right place.

³ Bollandists, March 25th. For the *Passio SS. IV coronatorum* (Gurius, November 8th), see Hunziker, *Zur Christenverf.*, p. 262, and de Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, §§ 3 and 4, No. 11.

⁴ Lactantius, *de Morte pers.*, 15. Eusebius (*Life of Const.*, i. 17) maintains even, very mistakenly, that mass was celebrated in his palace at Trèves.

⁵ Cedrenus (*Hist.*, p. 467) mentions an edict ordering the right eye of condemned Christians to be plucked out. We cannot tell whether this was an official order or a practice of certain judges. Eusebius often speaks of this punishment and of the burning of one of the tendons of the foot in the case of Christians sent to the mines by Maximin.

⁶ *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13. Sixteen had already occupied in succession the see of Alexandria; the last one only died by martyrdom in 311.

other. Moreover the search was needless, for most accounts speak of the Christians giving themselves up. This one overthrows an altars of the gods; that one burns a temple of Cybele; another goes straight up to the governor, who is offering a sacrifice, and plucks the incense from his hands; another insults him by word and act. "They were," says S. Augustine, "arrows of God shot by the saints at the faces of the oppressors."¹ Then there was seen something like an epidemic of religious suicides. Contrary to the Church's teaching, which disapproves of men by voluntary acts of imprudence or provocation rushing to meet their martyrdom, the *Acta* show a multitude of Christians eager to exchange their mortal life for the blessedness promised by the Scriptures.² And we must also say with a bishop of the time,³ among these saints of the eleventh hour were found—a thing less strange than it appears—men who speculated upon torture, hoping doubtless that it would not be carried to the fatal point: others, ruined with debts, to finish gloriously a worthless life; others, to live in prison on the charity of the Christian society; still others, incapable of a high spirituality, to gain salvation by a last effort of bodily endurance. But, on the other hand, how many admirable instances of devotion and stoical deaths! As we read some of the answers

¹ S. Augustine, in *Psalm*, xxxix. § 16; Euseb., *Mart. de Pal.*, 4 and 5: λόγους τε καὶ ἔργους. Cf. Bollandists, February 7th, S. Theodore of Amasia.

Martyr

Infremuit usque tyranni oculos

Sputa jacit.

(Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, iii., S. Eulal., 126-128.)

Cf. Le Blant, *Supplément aux Actes de Ruinart*, p. 33.

² Like the three Cilician martyrs, Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus (Tillemont, *Mém. eccl.*, vol. v. p. 285), and a crowd of others. Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. sacra*, ii. 46) says: "They ran to meet these glorious combats, and men sought for death more eagerly than now cupidity seeks for bishoprics." On the question of voluntary martyrdom, and on the means employed, on the other hand, to urge to his death a brother disinclined to it, see p. 232.

³ See the letter of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage (*ap. S. Augustine*, vol. ix. p. 568), who was anxious that those who voluntarily provoked punishment should not be reckoned as martyrs: . . . *quidam facinorosi et fisci debitores qui, occasione persecutionis, vel carere vellent onerosa multis debitis vita, vel purgare se putarent, et quasi abluere facinora sua, vel certe acquirere pecuniam et in custodia deliciis perfrui de obsequio Christianorum.* Thus did the Peregrinus of Lucian. There is also mention in the *Acta* of S. Theodoret, *ap. Ruinart*, of debtors seeking death to escape the severity of the treasury or of their creditors. Cf. Le Blant, *Suppl. aux Actes de Ruinart*, pp. 105 *et seq.* The fate of insolvent debtors was so cruel that Constantine was obliged to moderate it, but long after him, even, Valentinian I. put to death insolvent debtors to the public treasury (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 7). I have mentioned (p. 233, n. 5) the banquets and the intoxicating liquors by which the courage of certain irresolute martyrs was stimulated.

given at the trial, we seem to hear the songs of a virginal purity already far above the level of earth.¹

Political history does not record all the acts of courage in a battle, and of the soldiers who die for their country she preserves only the memory of their victory. Neither is it within her province to relate those triumphant deaths which have been the strength and are the honour of the Church. This duty belongs to religious history, which must determine what deeds are to be remembered, a long and difficult work, begun long since and not yet ended. We refer the reader therefore to the hagiographers for the story of those heroic and horrible scenes where human wickedness exerted itself to discover new methods of causing the flesh to cry out, and in which the victims suffered for the noblest of causes, liberty of conscience. Like the sufferers by persecution, Diocletian also was to endure his pain; this man, so sagacious, who near the close of his reign thus lost his wisdom, was to behold from the retirement of his palace at Salona the death of his gods and the triumph of Christ.²

II.—ABDICATION AND DEATH OF DIOCLETIAN (305-313).

At the close of the year 303 the two Augusti were approaching the twentieth year of their reign, and they had taken together at the altar of their gods a pledge to mark this anniversary by a deed which has been imitated but once, at which posterity is amazed, and which, in the interests of the Roman world, it would have been better not to have done. In the spring of 303 Diocletian quitted Nicomedia and travelled slowly through Thrace and the Danubian provinces towards Italy. He had at last decided to visit that Rome which he had never seen since his accession, and to celebrate at one and the same time the festival of the *Sacra Vicennalia*, and the triumph which the senate had long before

¹ For instance, that of S. Theodora of Alexandria.

² The Christians followed him in later ages with their maledictions, as was their right; and, so far as the persecution was concerned, it was justice. A historian of this emperor, Casagrandi (*Diocleziano*, p. 368, No. 1) has even put this question: *Quale è stata la mano che dalle storie di Ammiano e Zosimo strappava le pagine dedicate a Diocleziano? Chi ha distrutta la vita che di lui scrisse il suo segretario Eustenio?*

decreed to the two emperors.¹ But as he did not love an unwholesome popularity, and was not of the number who stoop to obtain or to keep power, he proposed to make but an official and brief visit to the old capital of the world. On the twentieth of November he entered the city with Maximian in a chariot drawn by four elephants, as a memorial of his Asiatic victories. Behind him were borne figures representing the king of Persia whom he had conquered, the wives and children of the latter captured in the camp at Narses, all arrayed in the purple robe embroidered with pearls; then came the trophies recalling the successes gained over the nations adjacent to the frontiers. According to the custom on these anniversaries he granted an amnesty which opened the prison doors to all, the Christians excepted, and gave largesses in all the great cities. The people of Rome had their large share in this: a *congiarium* of 310,000,000 denarii, or 1,500 denarii apiece, if they at this time numbered 200,000.² Games and combats of animals were the necessary accompaniment of these ceremonies, and they were accordingly given by Diocletian, but seem to have been lacking in magnificence. In the hunts, few animals were killed; in the amphitheatre, few gladiators. The people cried out against the niggardliness of the emperor; they murmured still more when they heard reported this saying of Diocletian's, which made parsimony the rule: "In presence of the censor there should be moderation." At bottom this captious crowd displeased the ruler, who cared much more for the needs of the Empire than for those of the populace of Rome;³ content with having flung them gold, he scorned to take pains to amuse them.

¹ A learned numismatist, M. Lépaule, in his *Note sur l'Atelier monétaire de Lyon*, 1883, announces, from three denarii in his collection, found in 1880, a fact which is nowhere mentioned, namely, the celebration of the Secular Games by Diocletian about fifty years later than those of the emperor Philip. The authority of the coins is great, but the silence of historians on this important fact is very singular, especially of Zosimus, who speaks at great length of the Secular Games, and knows nothing of those of Diocletian, although in speaking of them he mentions this emperor.

² It is more probable that this sum of 310,000,000 denarii (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 648) represents the entire amount granted by Diocletian to the great cities of the Empire, *πάσιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ*, says Malalas (*Chron.*, xii. p. 300, *ad ann.* 302). The *Alexandrian Chronicle* mentions also, p. 514, for this same year a distribution in Alexandria of *panis castrensis*. The triumph of Diocletian was not, as it has been said to be, the last triumph ever witnessed in Rome. Constantius celebrated one in 357 and Honorius another, after the victory of Stilicho over Alaric.

³ *Cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat* (Lactantius, 17).

This disdain of his is comprehensible when we read what Ammianus Marcellinus has to say of the frivolity of these men, wholly absorbed in their sanguinary amusements, or shaking the folds of their togas to call attention to the fringe of the border and the curious tissue of tunics, embroidered with figures of animals.¹

The senators were treated with no greater consideration. The ceremony of the installation of the consuls was approaching; it was for the senate and the city a festival in which the emperors formerly shared, but Diocletian did not attend it. On the 18th of December² he left Rome, which had not been able to detain him for an entire month, and visited Ravenna, where he took possession for the ninth time of the consular office (304). This triumph and these festivals, which had now brought to men's minds all the successes of his reign, were a matter of policy with the skilled statesman. As his mind was made up to seeking, in the retirement he had long before made ready, that which contemporaries have called the repose of the Augusti, *quies Augustorum*,³ but which was for him the putting in practice of a deep design, he had elected to retire from the world after having given this brilliant manifestation which was to immortalize his fame.



The Repose of
the Augusti, QUIES
AVGG. (Medium
Bronze.)

From Ravenna he went to Aquileia and Istria, doubtless went as far as Salona to make sure that all things were ready for his reception,⁴ and returned to Nicomedia in the middle of 304. From this city is dated one of his last rescripts, on the 28th of August of that year.

Diocletian had been seriously indisposed during this journey. But he was not yet sixty years old; he had a robust constitution, and, with his habitual tenacity of purpose, he returned to the city where he had assumed the purple, and where he proposed to lay

¹ xiv. 6.

² Lactantius, 17. It is probable that, before leaving Rome, he caused Maximian to renew in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus the engagement to abdicate at the same time with himself. (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15.)

³ *Pan. vet.*, vi. 11, and Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ Conjecture authorized by the words of Lactantius, 17: *per circuitum ripæ Istricæ Nicomediam venit*. Diocletian, in feeble health and habituated to eastern climates, was likely in January, 304, to avoid the valley of the Danube, through which certain authorities represent him as passing, a region subject to cold so excessive that the mighty river is sometimes frozen.

it off. His illness increased during the winter; all the gods, assailed with prayers for the recovery of him who had protected them, remained deaf to these supplications. On the 15th of December he had a fainting fit, the palace was in tears, and a rumour of his death spread through the city. When this report was contradicted many refused to believe that he was still alive, thinking that it was designed to conceal the truth until Galerius should arrive, lest there might be an outbreak among the soldiery. The emperor did not appear again in public until the Kalends of March. "He could scarcely be recognized," says Lactantius, "so greatly had he changed; and, if he had recovered his health, his mind had become so impaired that he never again had his reason but for more than a few moments at a time."¹ But Lactantius, his enemy, takes pleasure in showing the persecutor of the Christians deprived of his dignity as a man by the divine justice, of his imperial crown by the Cæsar whom he had himself made, and the entire edifice he had so laboriously erected falling into ruins over his head. The historian has seen in the secret apartments of the palace, Diocletian groaning, with tear-stained face; he has heard the hard words and threats of Galerius, and the humble answers of the old emperor, a rhetorical embellishment which obliging writers have taken for an historic scene.² This abdication which Galerius is supposed to have extorted from a feeble and irresolute old man, was one of the conditions of existence of the new political system which reserved power for the prime of manhood. This Diocletian himself affirmed on the day when he ordered the sons of the Cæsars to be only additional soldiers in the imperial army; and the keenest joy that this valiant mind could have anticipated for his latter days must have been to behold his great institution subsisting without him. He had succeeded

¹ Lactantius, 17: *Demens enim factus est, ita ut certis horis insaniret, certis resipisceret.*

² To render this scene less improbable, Lactantius had shown Galerius since the year 297 inflated with pride on account of his victory over Narses, and exclaiming: *Quousque Cæsar?* "How long must I remain Cæsar?" The skilful rhetorician is mindful of the rule of his art, that great effects must be prepared for long in advance. But he refutes himself when he says, later, in chap. xxvi., that Galerius was determined also to abdicate after his *Ficennalia*, showing that abdication after twenty years of rule was to be regarded as the principle of the new government. Aurelius Victor knows nothing of any enfeeblement of Diocletian: "He renounced the cares of government," says this author, "being in full vigour of body and mind, *valentior curam reipublicæ abiecit.*"

in preventing military usurpations by giving himself colleagues who acknowledged his superior authority. Moreover, to secure in the future the peaceable transmission of the supreme power, he had resolved to limit for himself its exercise to a period of twenty years, both in order to give by his own example an obligation of unselfishness to future Augusti, and to calm the impatience of new Cæsars by showing them that the hour of sovereignty would come for them also. Thus was to be made secure the system which had been the great work of his life; succession according to merit taking the place of the principle of heredity or the accident of military favour. We have two decisive proofs that such was really his intention: the care that he had taken during nine years in the construction of his palace at Salona, in a remote corner of the world far from all public life and business; and the fact that he had so carefully obtained from the ambitious Maximian the promise to abdicate at the same time with himself. Upon a coin struck on occasion of the abdication, these words are to be read: "To the victorious Fates." For the pagans, fatality was the supreme will of Jupiter, "Master of Destiny," and human wisdom was an inspiration from the god. The resolution of the two emperors was therefore attributed to Jupiter himself, *Fatis Victricibus*,¹ and in retiring they obeyed the divine will.



Victorious
Destiny, *FATIS
VICTRICIBUS*.
(Reverse of
a Gold Coin of
Diocletian.)

When, in the month of December, 303, Diocletian had celebrated at Rome his *Vicennalia*, he was in his twentieth year of imperial power, which was not completed until the 17th September, 304. The time that he had fixed for his abdication had then come, but he waited some months longer to allow Maximian to begin the year in which, twenty years earlier, he had been made Cæsar. By this voluntary delay he did not overpass the limit he had marked for himself, while he attained that when he could claim from his colleague the fulfilment of his promise.

The Empire at this time was in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which to the imperial ear was not disturbed by the far-off cries of martyred Christians. In the interior, no disorder; from

¹ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 6. An inscription found at Carlsburg (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,090) calls Jupiter, *divinarum humanarumque rerum rector fatorumque arbiter*. Cf. Pausanias, v. 15, in respect to Jupiter *ποσειδών*.

without, no threat of danger. In face of this so well ordered government, and of these so well guarded frontiers, ambitious men held their peace, and the barbarians remained in an attitude of respect and fear. Nothing therefore prevented Diocletian from making the experiment, so formidable in an absolute monarchy, of the transmission of the supreme authority.



Severus II.,
SEVERUS
AUGUSTUS.
(Gold Coin.)

Three miles distant from Nicomedia, upon a low hill overlooking the city, stood a column surmounted by a statue of Jupiter. It was on this spot that Diocletian had given to Galerius the purple of the Cæsars. Hither the old emperor caused his throne to be brought, and came to sit upon it for the last time. The nobility of the Empire, the officers of the palace, and the representatives of all the legions having been assembled in their order around him, he arose and announced his resolution. His strength, he said, was decreasing, and, after so many labours, repose was needful to him; he gave back to the god whose image glittered above his head that which the god had given him, and he transmitted the Empire to younger men, to the late Cæsars, whose places would thenceforward be filled by the experienced generals Severus and Maximin Daza. The latter, a nephew of Galerius, was present. Diocletian summoned him, and taking off his own purple mantle laid it upon the young man's shoulders. On the same day, May 1st, 305, Severus was proclaimed Cæsar at Milan by Maximian, and Diocletian, now "Diocles" again, quitted Nicomedia to seek the seclusion of his palace at Salona.¹



Maximin Daza,
Laurelled,
MAXIMINUS
P. F. AVG.
(Gold Coin.)

It was a grand and beautiful scene. This emperor who, not like Charles V. in the decline of his power, but in full prosperity and as yet far short of the limit of his life, abandons the imperial power that he may so give a solemn sanction to a political system, was a man of distinguished ability. "After him," says an old

¹ . . . *et iterum Diocles factus* (Lactantius, 19). This remark of Lactantius is not more truthful, however, than many other things that he says. Diocles, on the contrary, remained Diocletian, with possession of all imperial honours. Coins struck after the abdication represent him as crowned, and have the legend: *Domino nostro Diocletiano, beatissimo seniori Augusto*. On others is the following: *Æterno Augusto*, or *Providentia deorum, quies augusta*. Maximian withdrew into Lucania.

historian, "the decline of the Empire began, and by degrees barbarism gained upon it."¹

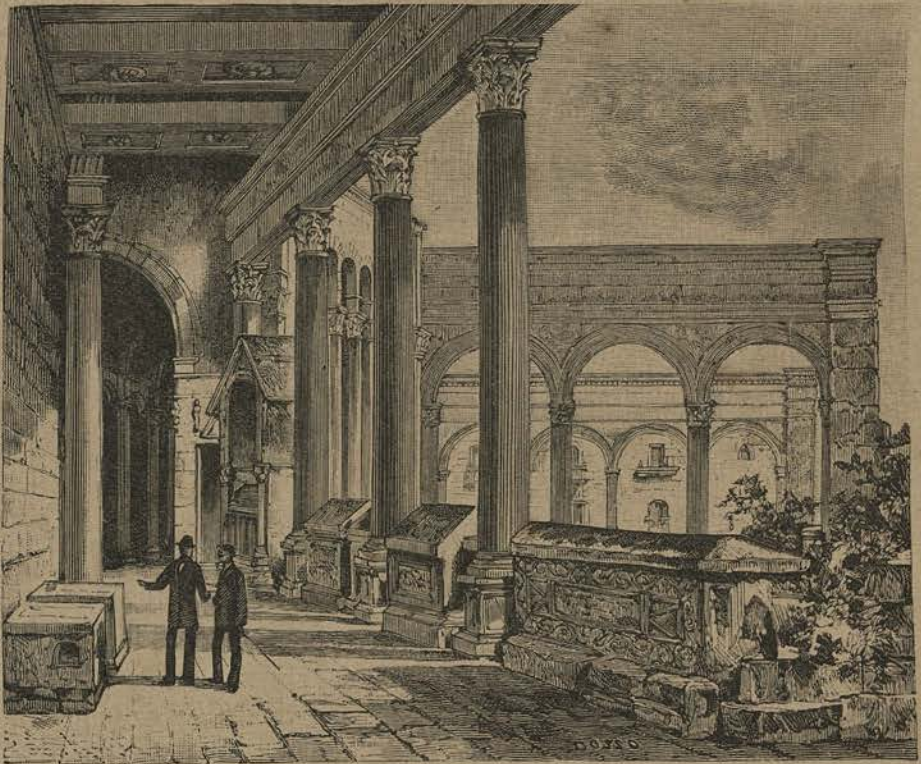
On the shore of one of those beautiful bays with which the Adriatic indents the Dalmatian coast, where the calm water is protected by islands from the angry waves of the open sea, now stands the town of Spalato,² which once was almost completely occupied by the palace of Diocletian. On one side was the sea with its changing aspects; on the other, wooded hills, vineyards, and villages; and the air was always sweet and fresh, except in the burning heats of summer. In this favoured spot Diocletian had erected the sumptuous edifice wherein he proposed to end his days near the scenes of his youth. The vast structure covered a surface of more than eight acres. Its exterior wall, defended at the four corners by huge quadrangular towers, gave admittance, under fortified gateways known as the Gates of Gold, of Iron, of Brass, and of the Sea, to four streets bordered by colonnades of red granite. The old soldier had designed his palace after the likeness of his Empire. Seen from without it was a camp and a fortress. But the interior told of its imperial occupant: baths, a forum, halls of reception and council, barracks for the guard, and two temples for his favourite divinities: Æsculapius (?) and Jupiter (?). The latter temple, octagonal without and circular within, with arches resting on the columns instead of the architrave placed directly upon capitals, was a prelude to the Byzantine architecture.³ A thick wall, rising from the sea, supported an open gallery 590 feet in length, the roof resting on fifty columns: an incomparable *loggia*, whence the view extended beyond the islands over the open sea, at that time crowded with vessels. By great

¹ Zosimus, ii. 7: . . . βαρβαρωθέντα [ἡ] 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχή].

² Spalato, corruption of *Salonæ palatium*. The stone, almost as beautiful as marble, of which the palace was built, was obtained from the quarries of Tragurium. Much porphyry also and Egyptian granite was employed in the edifice.

³ M. A. Choisy, the learned author of *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, says very well, p. 152: "It has been customary to date the Byzantine architecture from the fourth century. According to the accredited opinion, Justinian was its originator and S. Sophia its first example. In fact, no style of architecture ever comes into existence thus at a fixed date and with a masterpiece as its first work." The author mentions, as examples of the beginnings of Byzantine art in the Empire, two tanks at Constantinople, constructed in the time of Constantine, the palace of Spalato, etc.; and he very justly finds its origin in Assyria: "Byzantine art," he says, "existed from the Roman epoch beside the official architecture, and waited only the decline of classic traditions to make itself conspicuous."

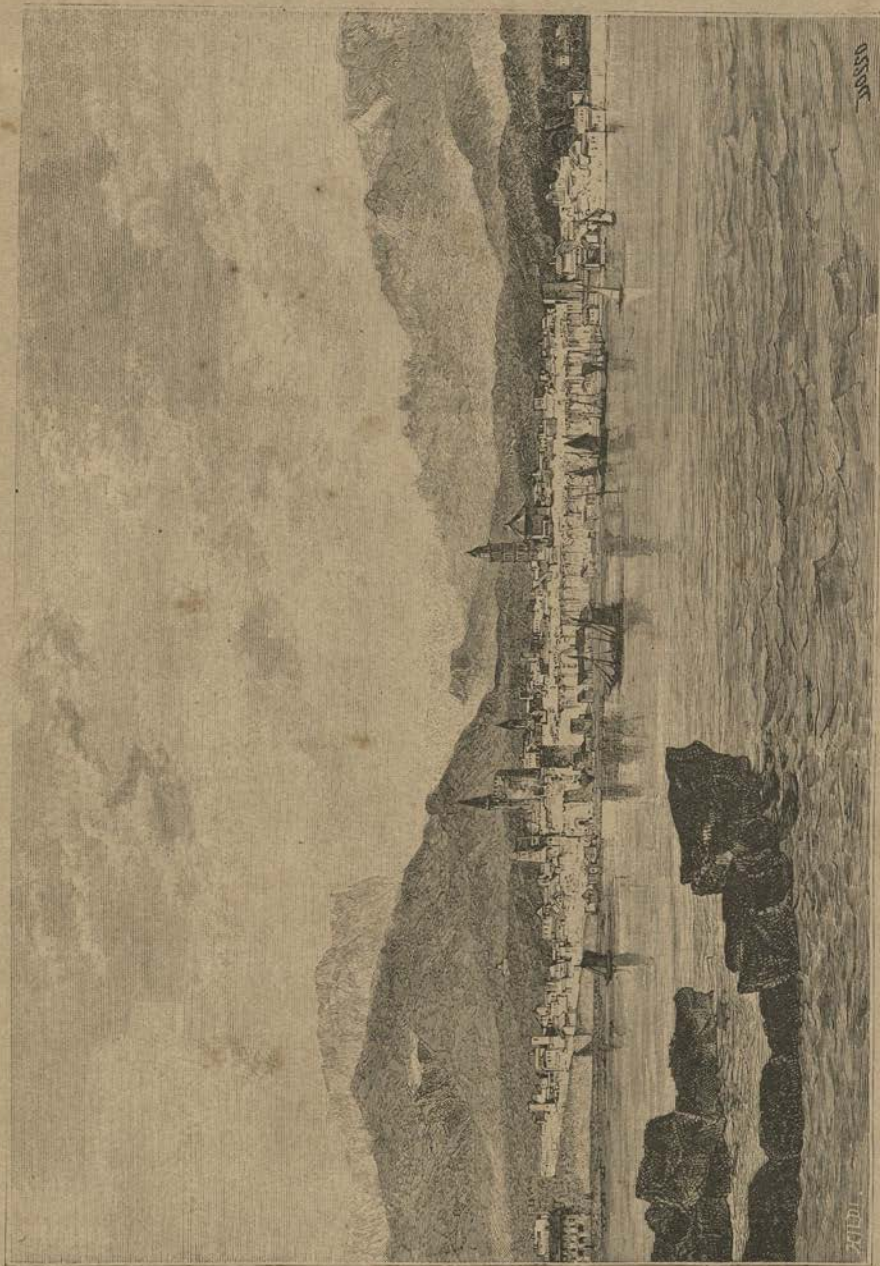
underground passages opening on this side, supplies were brought into the palace, and quietly distributed. In the neighbourhood was a hunting park; but where was the famous garden which Diocletian cultivated with his own hands, and from which he wrote to Maximian, who was begging him to resume the purple: "If you could see the fine vegetables I am cultivating here, you would never speak to me again of such wearisome tasks." The place is



Interior View of the Temple of Jupiter at Salona. (From the *Atlas* of Cassas.)

unknown to us; but the answer lives in history, and men weary of public life delight to quote it.

This dwelling was not that of a philosopher; but Diocletian was not inclined to philosophize. He had done a political action which implies an uncommon grandeur of soul; and the sacrifice being made, it pleased him to preserve as a private individual all the magnificence of imperial station. The temple of Jupiter, so-called, received the daylight only through the door of entrance, and it is a very small building; scholars have been disposed to



Spalato. (From the *Voyage en Dalmatie* of Cassas.)

think that it was a tomb. At the summit of power Diocletian had prepared a stately shelter for his old age; it is quite probable that, while in retirement, he constructed for his last home a sumptuous tomb.¹

The emperor passed eight years at Salona, respected by those whose fortune he had made. An inscription of the year 305 calls him "the father of the emperors." When his baths were inaugurated at Rome his name was left to the colossal edifice;² and on coins of this period he is called "the eldest of the Augusti," *Augustus senior*.³ Galerius consulted him in respect to the elevation of Licinius, and in 310 Eumenes extolled in the presence of Constantine the great emperor who was surrounded by the veneration of the new masters of the world.⁴ But he saw the ambitions that he had restrained break out anew; civil wars and murders of emperors succeed one another; Christianity obtain a legal recognition: his wife the empress Prisca, and his daughter Valeria, the widow of Galerius, despoiled of their possessions and confined in a place of exile.⁵ These blows, falling upon the emperor, the husband, and the father, were not enough for the hate of the Christians. They depicted him as steeped in insults and trembling for his life. Constantine throws down his statues, has his name effaced from the public edifices,⁶ and writes him menacing



VALERIA
AUGUSTA,
Daughter of Dio-
cletian and
Wife of Galerius.
(Gold Coin.)

¹ For a temple, the edifice is remarkably small, 42½ feet in diameter, 69 in height. The columns are but 23 feet high, but are surmounted with a heavy entablature and a second order of pillars 11½ feet in height. On the other hand, tombs were never placed so near dwellings; but Diocletian perhaps was desirous to place his own within the fortifications of his palace. Lanza places the tomb in the temple of Æsculapius.

² *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 1,130: . . . *Seniores Augusti patres imperatorum et Cæsarum*.

³ Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 14.

⁴ *Divinum illum virum . . . quem vestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia privatum, . . . multo iugo fultus imperio et vestro tegitur latus umbraculo* (*Pan. vet.*, vii. 15).

⁵ The two empresses were decapitated, by order of Licinius, early in the year 315, and their bodies thrown into the sea. A son of Galerius, Candidianus, whom Valeria had brought up tenderly, was at the same time put to death.

⁶ *Statue revellebantur* (Lactantius, 42). Constantine, he says, caused to be destroyed the paintings in which the two Augusti are represented together, overthrew those of their images where the statue of Diocletian formed a group with Maximian's, and effaced the inscriptions which were common to the two. This posthumous proscription was addressed to Maximian, whom Constantine had caused to be murdered. As for the mutilation of the inscriptions peculiar to Diocletian (*L. Renier, Inser. d'Alg.*, 108; *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. 1,439; and Wilmanns, 769A, 1,060), we must see in this an act of rage on the part of the Christian populations,

letters;¹ Maximin makes no reply when Dioeletian begs, with humble messages, that his daughter be restored to him; and the last days of this mighty monarch are so sad that he poisons himself or dies by voluntary starvation. The Christians will have the eternal damnation of their persecutor begin in this present world. Since no man killed him, it must needs be that he kill himself in the midst of all the anguish of despair. Thus justice would be done.



Dioeletian,
"the Eldest of the
Augusti."³

The scene is dramatic, and the legend that it embodies lives yet; but Eusebius, a contemporary and an enemy, and Eutropius, an indifferent person, have no knowledge of these sad horrors. The latter represents him as growing old in honoured tranquillity; the former only tells of a long illness which, in the end, carried him off.²

In an ordinance published a few days before the death of Dioeletian, Constantine still calls him: "Our lord and father,"⁴ and, lastly, he permits the senate to decree him apotheosis, although the ex-emperor at Salona was no more than a private individual.⁵ The senators, protectors of the state religion of Rome, took pleasure in protesting against the victory of the Christians by causing their persecutor to be enrolled among the gods. But the act could not be done without consent of the reigning emperor; it was therefore by the will of Constantine that Dioeletian was apotheosized;⁶ upon earth honours to his memory

avenging themselves upon their persecutor, rather than the execution of an order from government.

¹ Constantine is said to have endeavoured to compel him to attend the conference at Milan in 313, and, on the old man's refusal, to have written a letter which decided him to take his own life. The senate is said to have condemned him to death, etc. Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des empereurs*, vol. iv. p. 54.

² *Præclaro otio senuit* (Eutrop., ix. 28; Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 17).

³ D(omino) N(ostro) DIOCLETIANO BEATISSIMO SENIORI AUG(usto). The reverse: PROVIDENTIA DEORUM QUIES AUG. (Medium bronze.)

⁴ *Theod. Code*, xiii. 10, 2; edict of the Kalends of June, 313. Dioeletian, not being called *divus*, was yet living at that date. It may be inferred from Lactantius (*de Morte pers.*, 35-45) that he died before Maximin (July, 313), consequently a few days after the date of the edict.

⁵ *Contigit ei ut, quum privatus obisset, inter Divos referretur* (Eutrop., ix. 28).

⁶ Under the Christian emperors the word *divus* was retained to designate the dead emperor. The reign of Dioeletian has given rise to many discussions which it would be out of place to repeat here: they will be found in various special works, of which some are excellent: Hunzicker, in the *Untersuch. zur röm. Kaisergesch.* of Max Budinger, vol. ii. pp. 115-284, 1866; Preuss, *Kaiser Dioeletian*, 1869; Casagrandi, *Diocleziano*, 1876; Mason, *The Persecution of Dioeletian*, 1876; Coen, *L'Abdicazione di Diocl.*, 1877; Morosi, *L'Abdic. dell' imp. Diocl.*, 1880;

were not lacking: his tomb remained always covered with the imperial mantle.¹

The conqueror of Actium gave the Empire its first form, namely, absolute power concealed under a republican exterior, with liberal institutions of the cities and provinces. Diocletian undertook to abolish whatever remained of the government of the Cæsars, in order to establish in its stead a skilfully organized monarchy whose agents should be everywhere present. The union which could not be made between low and high by means of free institutions, was to be made between high and low by administrative ties which would enwrap the whole Empire, and were destined to keep a portion of it standing for ten centuries. We have seen how much ancient material was employed in the construction of the new edifice; it is always so. In public affairs the successful innovators are those who organize well, rather than those who invent, for the present, in order to stand securely, must begin by resting upon the past.

The close of the reign of Diocletian is the natural end of the History of Ancient Rome. The confusion which followed his death is but the prelude to the advent of Constantine, and with him of a new capital, a new state religion, and a new order of things—in fact, of Christian and Mediæval Europe.

Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 1880. For a part of the chronology of this reign there exists a learned paper of Mommsen's, *Ueber die Zeitfolge der Verordnungen Diocletians*, which we have already had occasion to quote.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus relates (xvi. 8) that a certain Danus was, under Constantius, accused of treason for having taken away from Diocletian's tomb a purple covering, *velamen purpureum*.



Temple of Rome. (Bronze Coin.)

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